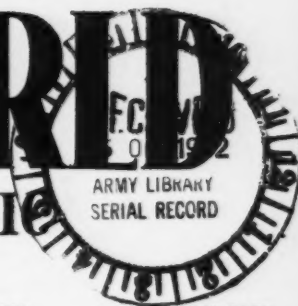


EASTERN WORLD

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A basket weaver of Luzon, Philippines
(United Nations picture)

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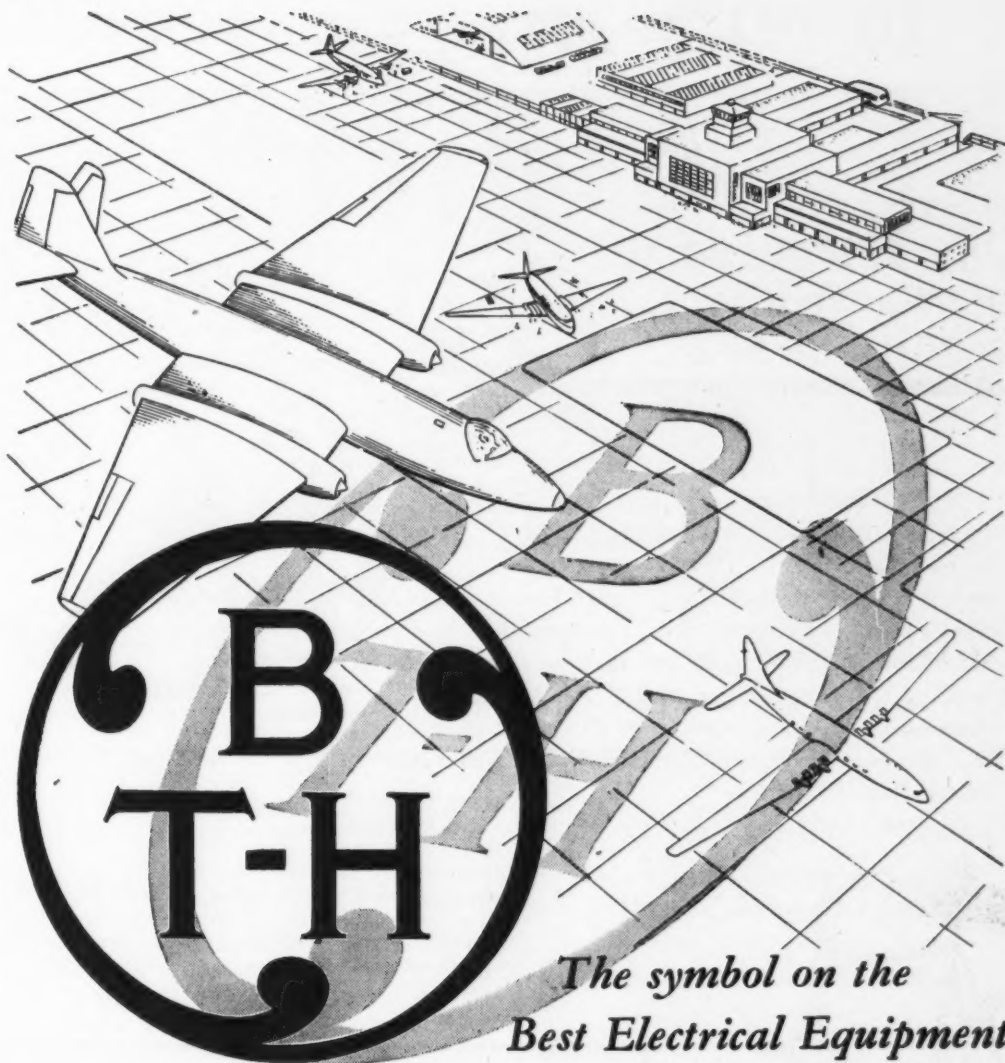
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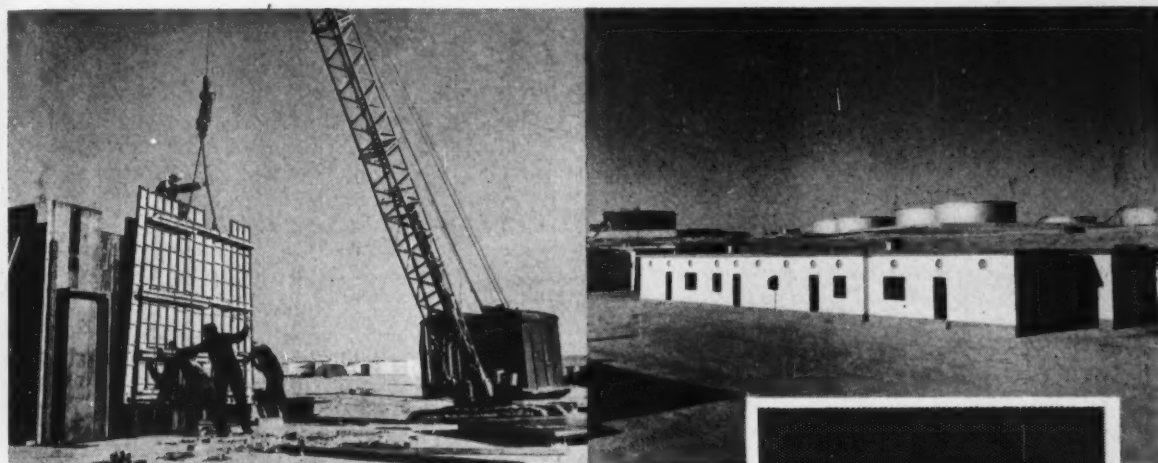
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EASTERN WORLD

KOREAN CATASTROPHE

THE bombing of the Suiho hydro-electric plants on the Yalu river, on the North Korean Manchurian border, has met with violent disapproval in Britain. This incident has released all the bottled-up resentment which has been felt in Britain as well as in many countries of the Commonwealth for some time, but which, unfortunately, was not ventilated before because of some mistaken idea that any criticism of United Nations action in Korea might impair Anglo-American relations. This journal has always maintained that, far from harming these relations, open discussion of all matters of Far Eastern policy are an essential prerequisite of harmonised action, and unilateral steps taken by the United States in Korea, particularly if they act under the cloak of the United Nations, are only apt to lead to serious misunderstandings. So far, American Far Eastern policy has not evoked our admiration, and while it is certain that the bulk of the American people desire peace on terms which will prove to the Communists that aggression does not pay, the well-known voices of the China Lobby—the interests that have been responsible for the catastrophic support of Chiang Kai-shek—still predominate. If the United States have not learned by their mistakes, the rest of the world certainly has, and there is a strong feeling in Britain, as there is in New Delhi, Karachi, Colombo and Canberra, that the Commonwealth does not wish to be involved in a widened war against China. Thus, the sending of 500 "United Nations" bombers to attack the Suiho plants at a time when the truce talks were just promising to show better results, has created serious misgivings.

Resentment has been intensified by the fact that Lord Alexander was not told about the pending raid during his visit to Korea. This has undoubtedly contributed to the bitterness with which the whole Korean situation is now being reviewed in London. While it is agreed that all steps have to be taken to resist aggression, the melancholy review of the results of the Korean war have convinced Britain that it is her right and duty to assert her voice in the councils of those responsible for the political and military conduct of the action in Korea. Indeed, Dr. Evatt's call for a conference of the governments concerned, at which political objectives in Korea might be redefined, is considered essential. After two years of fighting, Korea has been utterly destroyed. About 250,000 troops have been killed on both sides and hundreds of thousands of civilians. Millions of Koreans have lost their homes. At

a time when the initial purpose of throwing back the North Korean aggressors had been served, General MacArthur took it upon himself to penetrate to the Chinese border. This advance of, to all appearances, a hostile army, provoked China to enter the field. Since then, the United Nations forces have been driven back to approximately the former border of South Korea, a line which we could have held in October, 1950 without the appalling losses which were to follow, had the United Nations Command been less unilateral.

The greatest tragedy, however, is the fact that the United Nations were unlucky in the choice of example they intended to present to the Asian peoples by establishing and defending a regime in South Korea which, to say the least, is not an attractive alternative to Communism. All the help and support given by the United States and by the United Nations to President Syngman Rhee has not only failed to secure his cooperation, but has actually damaged the cause of the West. Dr. Rhee is attempting to perpetuate his power at the expense of Korean liberty and with the blessing of the United States. His latest antics, like the imprisoning of Assembly delegates, declaring martial law and the nurturing of the Taehan Youth Corps—his own Hitler Jugend—have created some misgivings even in Washington. The State Department, however reluctantly, is still supporting Dr. Rhee's presidency under the assumption that there is no alternative candidate. This is a misconception, for how can anyone else come into prominence in the face of Dr. Rhee's totalitarian measures? There are many Koreans who could run Korea at least as well as Dr. Rhee. But Kim Sung Soo of the Democratic Nationalist Party, who intended to run for the presidency, was forced to seek asylum aboard a U.S. hospital ship, and when Ahn Il, a 31-year-old physician announced his intention last month of standing for President, he was arrested on a charge of "possible collaboration with the Communists." The Korean people, as well as the rest of Asia are wondering whether the UN are fighting to foster tyranny or democracy and freedom.

Not very much remains to enthrone anyone to go on with this senseless war. We have shown, quite rightly, that we are always prepared to fight aggression. Now, having achieved this aim, we should investigate the possibilities of making good the damage done physically and politically. All efforts should be made to come to an agreement with China by granting her her rightful place at the Security Council and by settling the analogous position of Formosa. Finally, it is now our duty to examine the position in South Korea and to find out what democratic elements there are and what help they need. Above all, immediate and effective help should be given to the ravaged Korean people and alleviate at least some of the misery before it is too late.

WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

By Harold Davies, M.P.

B RITAIN'S trade gap yawns wider and wider and the latest overseas trade returns show that British exports are forced to enter the more competitive markets. Members of Parliament from textile constituencies know too well the grave consequences of Britain's changing pattern of trade. The vast markets of China are artificially closed and the entire project of the Colombo Plan is in danger of collapse. The Australian cuts in imports show a drop in engineering products from £17.5 million to £7.5 million. The popular misconception that the Colombo Plan has some central planning authority is dying a slow death here. The Plan is simply the sum of the development plans which the different countries would probably have made in any case.

Sir Richard Acland (Labour) recently opened a discussion on the progress of the Colombo Plan. He contests the view that Britain is giving anything to South-East Asia. According to Sir Richard: "Our only contribution is to allow them to draw on sterling balances. That is, we agree to repay our debts to them."

When we consider that in 1946-49 there was an actual release of £92½ million per annum, it appears we are only meeting our debts to Asia at half the rate at which we repaid before the Plan began. In Malaya this means we are not even keeping pace with the growing population. Members may not agree with Sir Richard's conclusions. He thinks that on this basis the Plan will not go through and condemns our failure to meet South-East Asia's social needs in the struggle against Communism.

The *Overseas Economic Survey on Malaya* has been available to Members for some time. Mr. K. E. Mackenzie, our Trade Commissioner, with his staff, provides an excellent and indispensable survey for those of us who follow the economic and social development of Malaya. I have been trying to find out how the startling error that appears on page 81 of this Report occurred. At the end of 1949 the capital of companies incorporated outside the Federation of Malaya and having interests in rubber estates is shown as follows: United Kingdom 331.4 million Straits dollars; Hawaii 320.2 million; Hong Kong, Singapore and U.S.A. come next with 36.3 million, 31.4 million and 14.1 million respectively. The Board of Trade now say: "Delete Hawaii." But how did any figure for Hawaii creep in at all? The U.S.A. now stands as a good second, with 53.4 million dollars in Malayan tin mines and dredges, while the United Kingdom leads with 93.2 million dollars.

The Burma section of the International Parliamentary Union have sent a delegation to Britain. The Burmese will be welcomed by Lord Listowel and later Lord Reading is to preside over discussions between the Burmese and

Members of the Lords and Commons. The mission includes Mrs. Ba Maung Chein, a Minister for the Karen States. This cooperation of hers with Rangoon might be an indication of improvement of relations between the Karens and Rangoon. Here, too, in London we have the Burmese mission of Army officers and civil servants who are studying economic and social affairs in the West. The leader is U Kwaw Nyein who was, with Aung San, a forceful leader in the cause of Burmese emancipation. I understand that this delegation is to visit Scandinavia, Switzerland and Yugoslavia.

Ministers are subjected to a barrage of questions on the Korean War, and time after time the House has been detained by statements or long answers to questions on the Far Eastern conflict. I have heard Lord Alexander's statement as Minister of Defence severely criticised. In the Lobbies it is thought that Alexander's use of the word "rehearsal" in relation to the War in Korea has increased China's suspicion. Events in Korea are still, so far as Members are concerned, shrouded in mystery and the complaint is mainly that Britain is not being taken into America's complete confidence.

The air attack on the hydro-electric stations by United States Air Force bombers, the biggest raid of the war, was the cause of heated scenes in the House of Commons. Mr. Sydney Silverman (Labour) asked a Private Notice Question. He felt that the attack was one which went beyond the power vested in the United Nations Supreme Command. Mr. Churchill was obviously discomforted and clearly his own Benches realised that as he shifted uneasily from one foot to the other in a vain effort to allay the fears of the Commons. Mr. Churchill said that there had been no change of policy from that of the previous Government, but Mr. Aneurin Bevan quickly pointed out that the policy of Ernest Bevin was to let the fighting die down so that peace might then come about. The Labour Benches were loud in their denunciation of this new phase of policy in Korea.

Mr. Attlee thought that this was a matter upon which we should have been consulted, especially in view of the fact that armistice talks are now taking place. Mr. Churchill, with his vast and incomparable grasp of the situation, promised the Commons a full debate. He was caught rather unprepared and had to face an angry Labour Back Bench, while on this occasion his own Benches were singularly inactive. Eager groups of Members gathered around the tape after Question Time. The second great raid was recorded. Grimly as he walked away a Member said to me: "All this and Britain not consulted!" Perhaps the comfortable Old World has cracked with the first bomb that dropped beyond the Yalu River!

ASIA IN WASHINGTON

By David C. Williams

WHILE the truce negotiations in Korea drag on, the battle over who lost China to the Communists—Chiang Kai-shek or the State Department—continues. Dwight E. Eisenhower, in his speech opening his personal campaign for the Presidency, referred to the case of China as a tragedy which must not be allowed to recur, and he may return to this theme again as the campaign continues.

The man in Washington who has been giving the most attention to China, however, is Senator Pat McCarran. To this Senator from the most sparsely settled state of America—Nevada, composed largely of deserts and having a little over 100,000 inhabitants—the affairs of the largest nation in the world appear to have a fatal fascination. He persists, in spite of all distractions, in his search for the "Communists" in the State Department who handed the keys to Peking to Mao Tse-tung.

Recently, for example, a newspaper in Las Vegas, Nevada, sued the leading gambling houses of the city because they had suddenly canceled their advertising. They alleged that Senator McCarran had asked them to do this, because he objected to criticism of himself in the columns of the paper. The newspaper won the suit, and the gambling houses were ordered to cease their boycott. Although McCarran prides himself on his piety, the eagerness of these gambling houses to protect his reputation from attack does not seem to have embarrassed him at all.

Instead, he sits in Washington at the head of his handpicked subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate—a Committee whose chairmanship he has attained by seniority, and which he controls absolutely.

McCarran, who dislikes all intellectuals on principle, has dedicated himself to proving that the intellectuals in the Institute of Pacific Relations plotted the handing over of China to the Communists. His stock in trade consists of the files for a period of many years of the IPR, which agents of his Committee seized in a melodramatic dawn raid over a year ago. Until recently, no one from the IPR has been permitted access to them.

These files have been carefully gone over by the Committee's experts, who include some of the most seasoned and experienced harassers of Communism in America. From this mountain of words, poured forth by many people over many years, the committee has compiled a carefully selected anthology of the passages which, in the very different atmosphere of today, would most embarrass their authors.

Thus briefed, McCarran is ready for his regular "cat and mouse" act. Through a course of questioning, a witness will be led along until he makes a statement that appears to contradict something he has written years

ago, which the Committee has carefully classified in its anthology. Then he will be abruptly and dramatically confronted with words—in a personal letter, for instance—which he had written long ago, and which he had not seen (probably not even thought about) since that time. The headline for the day will have been made, and the witness made to look a liar, or even a Communist.

In Washington, McCarran is known too well to be respected. In every poll taken among Washington journalists, political scientists, or other qualified observers, he and his colleague, Senator McCarthy, rank as the worst of the ninety-six Senators.

The disturbing aspect of the McCarran investigation, however, is that he is beginning to get the assistance of at least some academic experts in the field of Chinese studies. Dr. Karl Wittfogel, for instance, has been a most useful and cooperative witness. Himself an admitted ex-Communist, he has freely denounced many of his former friends and associates, most of whom have indignantly denied his charges.

Richard Walker, an Assistant Professor at Yale University, has recently joined the battle. His attack on the IPR has drawn a firm and detailed answer, which virtually demolishes his jerry-built case. But this, like the other attacks whether from McCarran or from various maverick academic personages, has the result that serious students of Asian affairs are distracted from their real work and involved in barren controversies over the events of many years ago.

Moreover, the whole atmosphere discourages independent thinking about Asia, still more independent action. Already, for instance, it is difficult to get State Department officials to accept transfers to the China desk, or any desk awkwardly near it. It is a hazard to their careers which they do not feel they can or should accept.

Apparently, it is not even safe to talk off the record. When the confirmation of Dr. Philip Jessup as an American delegate to the Paris Assembly of the UN was being considered, Harold Stassen, a past and present Republican candidate for the US Presidency, came to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, and gave his account (an inaccurate one, by the way) of what had been said at an off-the-record conference on China arranged by the State Department for a number of leading China experts, drawn from the business, political, and missionary as well as the academic fields.

Until this happened, people had expressed themselves freely at such conferences, in a way they had already ceased to do in public speeches or in print. Now even this forum for the free discussion of unpopular ideas has been closed, since no one knows when and where another Stassen-like tattletale may turn up.

INDO-CHINA'S SCHOOLMASTER-GENERAL

By Andrew Roth

I WOULD make Giap one of my top military commanders—if only he would change his politics,” said General de Linares, the French commander in Tonking, North Indo-China. He was speaking of General Vo Nguyen Giap, the dynamic self-taught Commander-in-Chief of the Vietminh's 350,000-strong army.

A school teacher with no formal military training, General Giap has built up from scratch an army which has obstructed the French for five years. His military strength is growing, although, according to Western intelligence estimates, he is only getting about a third of the military supplies from China (1-3 tons monthly) that the French are getting from the U.S. (7,000 tons). And he can claim to have outwitted one of France's greatest strategists, the late General de Lattre de Tassigny.

General Giap made this claim in an eloquent victory speech to his troops last February in Hoabinh which, according to him, was “still smelling of the enemy's blood.” When General de Lattre announced the capture of Hoabinh last November, after a lightening offensive employing parachutists dropped by American-supplied planes, he claimed he was “garotting” the Vietminh. Hoabinh was a key junction on the Vietminh's main North-South route for supplies brought in from China. By cutting this General de Lattre claimed that the Franco-Baodai forces had climbed to the “top of a curve in the history of the war against Communism in Indo-China.”

Before General de Lattre died in a Paris hospital two months later, the ingenious Indo-Chinese general was already converting Hoabinh into a trap for the French. Giap's strategy was to bleed French manpower wherever possible. He threw about 50,000 men into multiple, coordinated attacks on various French strong-points and lines of communications. To protect their supply road winding up out of the Hanoi-Haiphong delta to Hoabinh, he forced the French to deploy 15,000 of their 50,000 troops in North Indo-China. With the delta thus denuded of Franco-Baodai troops General Giap then infiltrated his own into the fertile lowlands in the rear of the French blockhouses. When the French decided they could not afford to continue in Hoabinh while this threat to their lowland base continued, Giap let the first convoys through and then attacked when almost the whole force was on the road. When their retreat was completed on February 24 the French admitted to 5,000 casualties. General Giap insisted that they had suffered 22,000. According to him this Vietminh victory had “smashed de Tassigny's attempt to regain the military initiative...”

The late General de Lattre de Tassigny has bequeathed some vivid words to describe the importance of General Giap's successes in Tongking. “Once Tongking is lost,” the General told Washington's National Press Club last September, “there is really no barrier before Suez.” If Giap wins Indo-China for the Communist cause, Western

strategists expect Siam and the rest of South-East Asia to be influenced very quickly.

General Giap's successes also affect Europe. If France had in Europe the twelve divisions pinned down in Indo-China, it would not find either Soviet military preponderance or a German military revival so threatening. If France did not spend on the Indo-China battle £400 million a year (apart from the U.S. £175 million) its economy would be healthier and less dependent on the United States.

Conferences of American, French and British officials have tried to “solve” the Vietnamese problem. They concluded that the only sources for additional troops to stop the forces led by General Giap are the anti-Communist Indo-Chinese recruited by the Baodai government. But this recruitment, while succeeding among the common soldiers, is running into trouble among educated Indo-Chinese suitable for officer training. Even when non-Communist or even anti-Communist, they cannot work up an enthusiasm for dying for Baodai under the command of a French general particularly when this French general is pitted against an Indo-Chinese general like General Giap.

In some ways Giap, who is probably the heir to the Communist leadership of Indo-China, is more important than his better-known spiritual father, Ho Chi Minh. President Ho was the pioneer organizer of Indo-Chinese nationalism and, as such, stands alone in his generation. Furthermore, although long a Marxist and recently returned to the fold of full Communist orthodoxy, Ho Chi Minh is still a broad and essentially eclectic man who can appreciate the values of Buddhism as well as Marxism, the benefits of Western democracy as well as Stalinist “democratic centralism.”

Giap belongs to the next generation of Asian Communist leaders—those who came of age in the 1930s and accepted Communist orthodoxy rather unquestioningly as the best technique for overthrowing a hated colonial order. In Indo-China this came easier than elsewhere because the father of the Indo-Chinese nationalist movement, Ho Chi Minh, himself advocated Communism as the best of the many techniques he had studied.

General Giap is a man of brilliance and energy and would probably have made his mark in his chosen legal profession had not world events intervened. A fellow classmate at Hanoi University in the 1930s described the incredible energy of Giap in his twenties. Giap, whose family was poor, studied Law at Hanoi University in the morning, taught as a schoolmaster in the afternoon, and engaged in political work in the evening. Even then he was an eloquent orator who could move men to action.

In 1926—when Giap was 14—Ho Chi Minh founded in nearby Canton, then headquarters of the Asian revolution, the “League of Revolutionary Indo-Chinese Youth”

and published a weekly *The Youth*. This weekly was smuggled into Indo-China and some 250 young men went clandestinely to Canton to study revolutionary technique under Ho Chi Minh at the Whampoa Academy. Among them was Pham Van Dong, now Deputy-Premier in the Ho government, and Giap's only serious competitor as Ho Chi Minh's heir. When these young revolutionaries sneaked back into their country, they soon gathered about them about 1,000 partisans, including Giap.

Giap was arrested for the first time when he was 18, in 1930. In that year a poorly-planned uprising under nationalist leadership, and against Ho Chi Minh's advice, resulted in the mutiny of Indo-Chinese troops at Yenbay. The French crushed it easily but engaged in an orgy of shootings and arrests and torture that shocked French opinion at home when it became known. French colonial jails, with their ill-treatment and torture, are well known as "schools for revolutionaries" and this jail term presumably further embittered Giap. The process was completed later when his wife was arrested by the French for her political activities and died subsequently in prison, apparently as the result of ill-treatment. By the time World War II broke out, Giap was already a schooled and determined young revolutionary.

When in 1914 the Vietminh first gave Giap the assignment of starting a guerilla group to fight the Japanese and the French government of Indo-China which was then allied with the Japanese, he had no military experience and few resources. He was able to muster 35 volunteers "armed" with 2 carbines, 3 hunting rifles, 1 Mauser and some knives and spears. Most of his recruits had never fired a rifle or thrown a hand-grenade.

Giap and his recruits learned the hard way—by fighting. By 1944 skirmishes were taking place almost every day between Giap's guerilla detachments and units of the Japanese division occupying Indo-China. In one raid, the Vietminh guerillas freed about a hundred French civilians in a concentration camp.

Strangely enough, Giap has the Americans to thank for having been able to convert his guerillas into a small army. At the end of 1944 a young American pilot, Lt. Shaw, who parachuted into Tongking, was rescued by the Vietminh guerillas and, after many difficulties, reached China with Ho Chi Minh as his companion. Ho reached an agreement with U.S. Major-General Chennault, C-in-C of the U.S. Air Force in China, to rescue Allied airmen

in Indo-China. Quite a few had to fly over Indo-China to bomb Japanese vessels near Haiphong. A U.S. Army liaison group which parachuted in to Vietminh-territory supplied some of Giap's units with automatic weapons and with instructions on how to use them.

General Giap's fledgling army was confronted with its first great crisis when the wholly unexpected collapse of the Japanese came on the first day of a Congress of the Vietminh. General preparations for an insurrection on the defeat of the Japanese had been made. Giap had transformed his guerilla detachments into an army on December 22, 1944. However, the Vietminh now had to cope with its opportunity long before it was anticipated but they decided to seize the chance. They elected a Central Committee, with Ho Chi Minh as its head, to function as a provisional government. They planned an independence proclamation and a military insurrection to put it into effect.

The revolt to overthrow Japanese power spread fast but the Japanese, who had been ordered to stand fast, did not yield easily. Giap, with the aid of an American friend, directed the fighting for Thai Nguyen, which blocked the road to Hanoi. In Hanoi the Vietminh broadened the provisional government to take in non-Vietminh personalities. Giap retained his post as Defence Minister and Commander-in-Chief and was one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence on September 2, 1945.

Because of Indo-China's military weakness, President Ho decided in 1946 to gain time and win international favour by negotiating with the French. He signed the conciliatory March 6 (1946) agreement and sent Giap to a conference at Dalat for further negotiations. But Giap showed himself to be no diplomat and he was left behind to train the army while President Ho and others negotiated without avail in France. When the French made it clear that they intended to use their Hanoi-Haiphong beach-head as an offensive springboard, Giap did not await their attack. On December 19, 1946 he attacked them in Hanoi.

Recently, the West has been concerned as to whether Chinese help will tip the delicate Indo-Chinese balance. This ignores Giap's striking success in maintaining a military stalemate with French forces prior to 1950, when his only outside supplies were the remnants of World War II arms, bought in Bangkok, Manila, Macao or from Yunnanese bandits. He has overcome France's greater overseas resources by learning furiously from experience.

(continued on page 20)

POST-ELECTION PERSPECTIVE IN INDIA

By M. N. Roy

IT was a foregone conclusion that the Congress party would be returned to power at least for another term.

For three decades, it had dominated the political scene as the organiser and leader of the struggle for national liberation. The overriding necessity of a united front against British rule pushed internal social and economic issues to the background. In order to enlist the support

of the masses, the Congress party, though backed by big business, claimed to stand not only for the abolition of feudalism, but also for the end of any form of economic exploitation. Gandhi's criticism of modern industrialism and his campaign for a self-sufficient village economy, which would make no room for capitalist exploitation, provided a plausible sanction for the claim. The scepticism

of modern intellectuals about the progressive significance of the Gandhist economic programme was overcome by Nehru's profession of Socialism. The result was that the independent existence of any other political party was ruled out. Even the Communists had to accept the leadership of the Congress party.

After the attainment of national independence, the anti-imperialist united front broke up. The Communists called upon the masses to fight the nationalist bourgeoisie in power, and the Socialists also broke away from the Congress party. But in such a short time, opposition parties could not acquire sufficient strength to challenge the supremacy of the party in power. The first general election was held too early for them to have a fighting chance. The vast bulk of the electorate being illiterate and in the absence of any native democratic tradition, the result of the election represents neither the considered opinion nor the intelligent will of the people. The new Constitution has introduced universal suffrage. But less than fifty per cent of the electorate went to vote and many of these under pressure. There were innumerable cases of malpractices to cast doubt also on the fairness of the election. Local officials naturally helped the candidates of the party in power. Given the ignorance and apathy of the bulk of the electorate, no effective vigilance was possible.

Nevertheless, the position of the Congress party has been shaken, to a greater or lesser degree, in several constituent states of the Republic. On the whole, though, there is little danger of its being dislodged from power in the near future. It will dominate the Federal Parliament; and from that position of vantage, the Central Government will control the situation in the States, even where the Congress party has been reduced to a minority in the Legislature.

However large may be the number of its nominees returned, a majority of the total votes cast went against the Congress. Only in a few individual cases did Congress nominees secure an absolute majority. A large number of opposition parties contributed to the return of Congress candidates, even though the latter polled minorities of the votes cast. If the total electorate is taken into account, the position is much worse. The Congress party has been returned to power by a much smaller minority of the electorate than shown by the result of polling. It is less than 25 per cent of the total electorate, and more than that number of votes were cast for the candidates opposing the Congress party.

The will to retain monopoly of power, defying the verdict of a majority of the electorate, is justified by the argument that the Congress party alone can give the country a stable government. But this stability is shaken and it may be restored by dictatorial methods. The credit of political stability in the years immediately following the transfer of power does not belong to the Congress party. It inherited a going concern—functioning State machinery manned by a well trained and experienced staff. But in no time this asset

was squandered by a government composed of party politicians. Nepotism undermined the efficiency of public administration. Widespread corruption, which is a corollary to party rule, shook popular confidence in the Congress and demoralised it. Factional feuds and the scramble for privileges destroyed the internal cohesion of the party in power. In consequence, the stability of public administration was undermined. The defeat of Congress leaders and Ministers was due very largely to the absence of cohesion.

Manoeuvres for retaining the monopolist position will sharpen the conflicts inside the ruling party. An organisation rent by factional feuds, disintegrated by the scramble for the spoils of office, and demoralised by the resulting corruption, will be held together by stricter discipline. The tightening of discipline inside the party will aggravate factional feuds to the extent of open revolt. It did break out before the election, and was patched up, but for the time being. The emergency over, party politicians will almost certainly return to their feuds, and the disappointed and underprivileged will leave the sinking ship. Gone is the time when all roads to political ambition lay through the Congress. Now, alternative roads have been opened, and ambitious politicians, thwarted in the Congress, would not feel that, if they left it, they would be in the wilderness.

The emergence of the Communist Party as a disturbing political factor of incalculable potentiality is the most significant factor of the general election. It was also not unexpected. The Indian Communists, indeed, did not have the advantage of their comrades in China and other countries of South-East Asia. But conditions favourable to them were maturing in India also. Successful nationalism had disillusioned the politically minded middle class. Signal failure to fulfil the tall promises made previously had spread mass dissatisfaction with the established regime. Inefficiency, corruption and the highhandedness of the new rulers, particularly of the lower ranks, had discredited the Congress and shaken public morale. The Communists exploited the progressively worsening situation. There was increasing evidence that, notwithstanding the repressive policy of the government, the Communist Party was gaining ground.

In addition to the factors mentioned above, the spectacular development of the Communist Party is due to the fact that it represents a clear and consistent opposition to the party in power—politically, socially and ideologically. It offers the point of crystallisation for the disillusioned and discontented elements. The experience of the five years of constitutional government has blasted the popular hope of a gradual improvement of the conditions of life. It has also shaken the faith in older ideologies. In this atmosphere of despair and disillusionment, the programme of a clean sweep of the established order has a strong appeal. But the Communists cannot take the risk of resting on their oars. The promises with which they duped the ignorant masses of voters do not

stand any scrutiny. Given time, the dupes may see through them.

Therefore, in the near future, Communist tactics must be spectacular to fire popular imagination and demonstrate their strength. Most probably these tactics will consist of mass mobilisation and infiltration into institutions of the established regime, including the State machinery and the armed forces, with the sympathy and support of a considerable section of the middle class. The recent electoral success will attract numerous recruits to the Communist party and the novices will come from all walks of society. The inducement is not so much economic betterment as political power which fires the imagination of the illiterate masses as well as of the educated middle class. The sanction of the Communist appeal is not its ostensible idealism, but the formidable power of the Russo-Chinese bloc.

Whatever the government may do, the Communists cannot be stopped. As between the Congress and the Communist Party, the latter will gain in popularity. How the Communist Party will act in the new situation will be determined by the foreign policy of Russia, and the Russian attitude towards India will be influenced by the development of Indo-American relations.

There has been much speculation and controversy on this score. But it is to a large extent predetermined. The foreign policy of a government logically follows from its approach to the problems at home. Notwithstanding Nehru's admiration for Red China and the economic system of Soviet Russia, none ever believed that he would encourage the growth of Communism in India or ally her definitely with the Communist bloc. It is not a convincing performance to admire Communism at a distance while fighting it at home. A really neutral and independent foreign policy presupposes a national economy which does not rely on foreign financial aid. Inasmuch as the Nehru Government's economic policy cannot do without foreign aid, its foreign policy is predetermined. The aid can come only from America. It will not necessarily mean any control of the internal politics of the country. But it will mean closer Indo-American relations. Recent events have moved quite fast in that direction.

Nehru's refusal to sign the Japanese Peace Treaty provoked severe criticism in the American press. He was accused of leading India to the Communist camp. If such opinion hardened, the hope of American financial help for the industrial development of India would not be fulfilled. Therefore the powers behind the throne tightened the screws on Nehru's independent foreign policy. The Indian Ambassador in Washington was called home for instructions and returned to assure American public opinion that India was definitely in the western camp.

The subsequent replacement of Mrs. Pandit at the Washington Embassy was a more significant gesture. She was succeeded by a serviceman who has repeatedly made declarations calculated to improve Indo-American relations. The most important fact indicating a change in India's foreign policy was Birla's visit to America as the non-official Ambassador and spokesman of big business. Since then, dollars have begun to trickle into India.

This reorientation of India's foreign policy naturally alarmed Russia. China cannot hold out any substantial inducement which would tempt India away from the U.S.A. So, Russia has acted directly. Having maintained a non-committal attitude towards the Kashmir dispute all along, she has suddenly thrown in her weight in favour of India. It is doubtful if Russian backing would reinforce Indian intransigence, but it would certainly win for Indian Communists new allies from the ranks of the Hindu communalist organisations fiercely opposed to any compromise on the Kashmir issue.

Russia has more than one iron in the fire. While trying to please India by backing her claim in Kashmir, at the same time pressure is exerted by threatened Communist infiltration of Nepal from Tibet. The Communists are entrenched all along the Indo-Burmese border also. They have won an absolute majority in the border State of Tripura. So, India is threatened from inside as well as from outside. In this situation, Nehru can no longer sit on the fence. Polarisation of the political forces inside the country will compel Indian foreign policy to move towards the one or the other hub of the international axis.

The Indian Communist Party having emerged as the strongest parliamentary opposition, continuation of the policy of treating it as an outlawed disruptive factor will no longer be consistent with a friendly attitude towards China and admiration for the achievements of Russia. A more tolerant policy will enable the Communists to entrench themselves preparatory to revolutionary mass action. Intoxicated with their initial victory, the Communists may make premature moves, such as will justify measures for the maintenance of law and order. Premature rehearsals of civil war will justify the government moving towards dictatorship.

This ominous development will be approved in the democratic world, particularly in America, as necessary to combat Communism. To maintain political stability in the only Asian country where a strong bastion against Communism can possibly be built, the established regime will be given all manner of aid. The Communists can be expected to retaliate with an all-out offensive. India will have to choose between two contending types of dictatorship. And as far as the politically indifferent and emotionally regimented majority of the people is concerned, no choice will be given. One or the other form of dictatorship will be imposed by violence. Whether it will be committed according to the letters of law, or unconstitutionally, will make no difference.

INDIANS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By Madan Gopal (New Delhi)

INDIA'S role in South-East Asia is at present attracting much attention in this country and abroad. India has, some argue, special interests and responsibilities in South-East Asia. She should fill the vacuum in trade created by the defeat of Japan and the withdrawal of the British from Burma, of the Dutch from Indonesia, and the possible exit of the western powers from Malaya and Indo-China.

As a historical justification for this view, they point out that ancient India has very close links with the areas of South-East Asia, proved by the ruins of Hindu temples in Pagan and Ava (Burma), of Angkor-Vat (Indo-China) and Ayuthia (Siam); by the prevalence of Buddhism in Burma and Siam, and of Hinduism in Bali; and the unmistakable influence of India on the culture, language, even the alphabet, of these countries. There is a sizeable Indian minority in Burma and Malaya, several thousands of Indians in Indonesia, Siam and Indo-China, and Indian capital invested in these countries runs into several crores.

That is the position of the Indians in South-East Asia as seen from New Delhi. Let us now consider the question as perceived by the people of Rangoon, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Saigon and Djakarta. As a casual visitor to some of the countries in South-East Asia—and at times a casual visitor forms a sounder impression of the conditions in a country than experts who have their own prejudices and bias—I found that the people of South-East Asia have great admiration for Mr. Nehru and realise the importance of India's tremendous resources, actual and potential, in manpower and materials. But there is a fear lurking in their minds as to what path the new India will take should forces now in opposition to the Government come to power. A few went to the extent of pointing out the dangers of what they called "Hindu Imperialism." By and large the people of this region do not particularly like the position of the Indian communities in the economy of their countries, or the dangers inherent in a "foreign" population of considerable strength.

Indian emigrants to South-East Asia in ancient times merged with the indigenous population to such a degree that few descendants of those Indians could today be distinguished from the rest of the people. But the story of the Indian settler who went to these countries during the last century is different. The modern Indian settler (particularly from the South; to a lesser degree Sikhs and Muslims) has taken all his customs and conventions to the little Indias abroad. He refuses to identify himself with the local people, to partake of their food, adopt their dress or intermarry among them.

Year in and year out the Indian eats the same food and puts on the same dress as he and his ancestors did in India; he marries within his own caste among the Indian immigrants, or, if he cannot find a life partner, returns to India for a wife. He thus lives as a foreigner, does not feel and does not make others feel that he has become part of the country where he has settled and where he makes his money.

A comparison with the Indian's chief rival in these areas, the Chinese, is revealing. The Chinese is not as rigid or restricted in his way of life. In the social plane he mixes freely with the local people; his food habits, dress and ways of living are nearer to those of the Burman, Malayan or the Indonesian than are the Indian's.

The modern Indian settler went to these countries in the wake of Western conquest. He claimed economic privileges and constitutional safeguards next only to the European and the local people identified the Indian with the European and considered him an exploiter. Burma was developed with the help of Indian labour and capital; but the Burman was not the richer for it: the profits were drained away either to the U.K. or to India. The same was true of Malaya.

Indian business men and moneylenders have done incalculable harm to India. Earning fortunes—nowhere do Indians make so much money so easily as in the countries of South-East Asia—they have done nothing for the welfare of the local people or even for the poorer section of the Indian community.

The *Chettiar's* unpopularity is too well-known to need repetition. Perhaps not so well-known is the fact that the Sikh, like the Pathan in India before Partition, constitutes an important section of the moneylending class in Malaya and Siam; or that U.P. *Bhayyias*, mostly from Gorakhpur, who work as watchmen in business establishments in Bangkok or Singapore, earn lakhs by lending money, the minimum rate of interest being 18 per cent. There is, naturally, a good deal of resentment against the Indian moneylenders, and nationalists in these countries would like them to quit as early as possible.

Least resented Indians abroad are doctors and engineers, for whom there is still a considerable demand; but doctors and engineers, even those who might have been born and domiciled there, consider themselves to be temporary residents. Their roots are in India, no so much for their own sake as for the future of their children. A very small proportion of them want to stay overseas for any length of time—in spite of their recognition of the fact that competition in India is really hard.

Nearly 80 per cent of the Indians in South-East Asia are either agriculturists or agricultural labourers, the majority of them from South India. They, or their ancestors, went there because they found the conditions of existence in the home country to be far from enviable. Few of them have roots in India, and should they decide to return there, few of them have any landed property or relations who could help them to rehabilitate themselves. The only roots which these people have are in the countries of their adoption. But the statements of policy of the Government of India have made them look to India for protection; educated Indians, in some cases representatives of the Government of India, have held out splendid visions of the India of tomorrow. And whereas they ought to be told that the Government of India, preoccupied with problems at home, might not be able to do much for them for a decade, India's representatives are partly responsible for their hesitation in regard to the choice of citizenship. Communist China's recent pro-

nouncements in regard to the Chinese minority in Malaya and Siam, her interest in Indo-China and reported designs on Burma on the one hand, and the policy of discrimination in immigration and export of capital adopted by these countries in regard to Indians on the other, call for an immediate stock-taking of the situation.

Indians who do not wish to settle down in those countries of South-East Asia, where they are now living, should be told that they are there at their own risk, and should draw up plans to return to India while there is time. Indians who have their roots in the countries of their domicile should be told—and told firmly—that they should forget about their links with India and become the citizens of the countries of their adoption, not only in language, dress and habits, but also in thoughts and loyalties. Should they feel unable to adjust themselves to the new surroundings they should be repatriated to India, and the earlier this is done the better.

Resettling Pakistan's Displaced Persons

By Farrukhsiyar

THE great displacement of populations which the new Asian dominions experienced after the British left India in 1947 was a major calamity.

It is generally believed that some 18 million people crossed the newly created frontiers between India and Pakistan to be in the state in which they would not be a minority community. It is difficult to speak with any certainty as so many of the well-to-do refugees on either side were not enumerated, especially where they had homes awaiting them in their new country. Originally it seemed that the numbers moving in each direction were about equal but in the past year or two with the increase in tension in provinces of India which had earlier seemed relatively peaceful, it would appear that there was an excess of Muslims entering Pakistan over the number of non-Muslims leaving the country for India.

Assuming, however, that the numbers moving each way were about equal, the impact of nine million homeless people on a country with a total population of 81 millions is much more serious than that of a like number of refugees in a country with 360 million people. Put briefly, one person in 40 in India is a refugee; in Pakistan one in nine, and in West Pakistan the ratio is one in five. In Karachi, the capital, the exodus of Hindus has been much more than made up for by the entry of Muslims so that the flood of humanity has swollen to a million and a quarter people in a city which formerly held only three hundred thousand and four "citizens" in five are refugees.

To add to the difficulty Pakistan herself did not start with any well established administrative machinery. Her government itself was a "displaced person," lacking in most essentials, and particularly in trained administrators.



Refugees in Pakistan working on new building projects
(United Nations picture)

Most of the refugees coming into Pakistan were agriculturists, with a fair proportion of artisans; the exodus of Hindus and Sikhs had taken away from the country a large number of businessmen, members of the professions, clerks and other middle class people essential to city life. This might have been felt to be a distinct handicap but it is likely in the long run that Pakistan got some very useful human material likely to be of immense value in a nation on the make. The country's agricultural economy could easily absorb large numbers of farm workers in lands abandoned by departing Hindu and Sikh peasants but the scope for absorption of artisans and industrial workers in the cities was at first limited by the absence of many big manufacturing concerns. This again is a difficulty that will disappear with the growing pace of industrialisation.

The West Punjab received about 5½ million refugees and it is calculated that these exceeded by over 1½ million the number of non-Muslims who left the province. The province was ahead of any other in its plans for resettlement. It made a survey of abandoned lands, examined millions of claims and started to allot land to refugees. Farming families were allocated lands on the basis of holdings they had left behind in India, subject to certain maximum limits. On this basis semi-permanent allotments of land have been made since April 1951 and are about complete by now. In this way about four million refugees have been put on the land in that one province.

Because of the uneven distribution of refugees, the central Government of Pakistan had to take over the direction of resettlement programmes. It set up a Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation which laid down the principles on which land was to be divided and allocated, provided for loans for seed, bullocks and implements. Some 200,000 refugees were moved from the Punjab into Sind at the end of 1948.

In addition to the rural refugees, the number of persons resettled in the Punjab in cities brought the total of persons absorbed by the province to 5¼ millions. In Sind 480,000 have been settled in rural and 370,000 in urban areas. Bahawalpur has absorbed about 350,000, and new canal colonies are being developed in the State. The bulk of Karachi's 900,000 refugees have been able to settle down, many in government service, some in independent business and others in various types of employment in which they have been placed. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund helped with large supplies of dried milk for children.

In Eastern Pakistan the influx of Muslims has been a more recent phenomenon. It is calculated that the renewed movement of refugees in the early part of 1950 and since has brought the total number of refugees in East Pakistan who have not been resettled adequately to a million. The problem is all the more difficult because the

eastern part of the country already holds a very dense population.

Then there has been the Refugee Rehabilitation Finance Corporation which has loaned millions of rupees to help artisans to start their own trades and to get cottage industries going. Efforts have been made to get cooperative industries started.

The rehabilitation of refugees in cities has many striking features. Not the least of these is the building of satellite towns at a remarkable rate. Thus the Greater Karachi plan envisages six satellite towns of which the first, Nazimabad, has been built with phenomenal speed in just over 18 months. It is a well planned town with five neighbourhood units to accommodate 2,000 families each and ample provision for open spaces and amenities. The value of such speedy, yet efficient, house building in a country where every town is extremely hard pressed for accommodation cannot be exaggerated.

Some mention might be made of the Sind Field Publicity Unit which was set up to educate both the old inhabitants of Sind and the newcomers in their midst in cooperation for the public good. Propaganda in the East is a largely undeveloped field, but this unit seems to have done very good work with its publicity which included a paper, *Nai Zindagi*, published in both Urdu and Sindhi.

In the first four years of its existence as an independent state, Pakistan spent over Rs.175 million on refugee resettlement and rehabilitation. This does not, of course, include the value of the abandoned property redistributed. Large sums have been spent not only on permanent resettlement of refugees who intend to stay in Pakistan but also on half a million refugees from Kashmir who may some day go back to their old homes. Supplementary taxes have been imposed to raise further funds to deal with the problem.

It has been a great achievement by a nation with its back to the wall. Valuable assets have been the splendid human material available, some of the finest peasant types capable of very hard work; the sense of teamwork among the Muslims; the good canal-irrigated lands abandoned by non-Muslims. The handicaps have included the lack of large scale industry; the illiteracy of the people; the shortage of many categories of workers, like clerks, tradesmen, and professional men to replace those who had left. The influx of refugees has never quite ceased so that the problem has become a continuing one. But in the final reckoning the achievement of the first five years in coping with a problem which fell on the shoulders of Pakistan's leaders at a time when the very survival of the new state was threatened is something of which the Dominion may well be proud.

White Australia and the Asian Population Problem

By G. G. Allen (Sydney)

THERE has been much discussion as to the possible population that Australia could support. Figures of from 20 to 120 millions, and more, have been quoted, and by supposedly competent authorities. Nevertheless, Australia cannot be regarded as a land with unlimited potential wealth. Much of the national income can be traced to types of farming, mining or industry that could scarcely exist in any other than a highly mechanised society. To be more precise, there are large parts of productive Australia to-day that cannot expect to be much more densely peopled than at present, like the grazing lands and extensive wheat farming areas. Much of the future expansion of the Australian population must be in the development of new cities and industries, and the opportunities for more closely settled agricultural areas will be strictly limited to certain favourable parts of the continent.

The immigration policy of the Australian Government to-day is designed to achieve certain specific aims, while avoiding any of the inconveniences that an unplanned migration might incur. Immediate results are being obtained in the development of secondary industries, while of the population is quite substantial when considered term consideration. Nevertheless, the rate of expansion of the population is quite substantial when considered in conjunction with the total population. It will be an achievement worthy of note if the current rate of immigration is maintained without any effects upon the nation's economy.

To top even 20 millions by the end of this century, an annual immigration of some 150,000 must be maintained. This amounts to more than doubling the population in fifty years, in itself something of a problem, especially in a world where economic and other factors are not favourable to expansion as they were at the time of the great development of America. At the moment there are relatively unoccupied areas, especially in the tropical North, and it is here that without question Asian immigrants could find a living, and thrive more easily than the Europeans.

But what is the situation in Asia? India and China have populations of over 300 millions each, Japan has over 80 million, Java over 40 million, and all are probably expanding with the possible exception of China, where the effects of Western influences have remained superficial

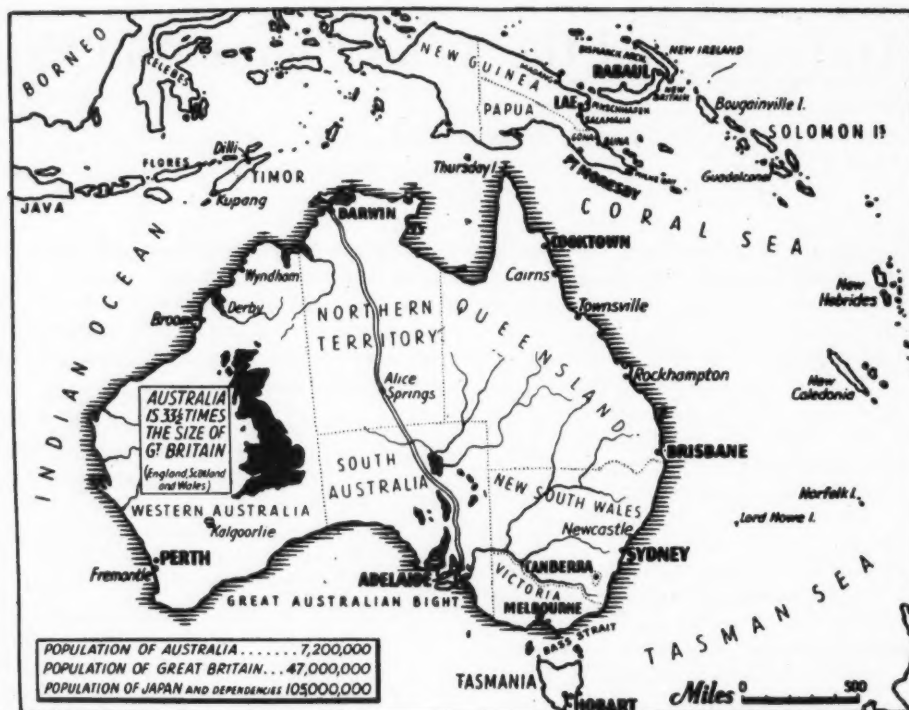
and may not have caused any great alteration in the factors controlling population. Already these lands are overflowing. Migration seems at first sight to be the obvious answer to this problem, and the only remaining areas available are parts of Indonesia (Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes) and Australia.

There is more to be considered, however. Firstly is a migration on a satisfactory scale practicable? The population of India alone is increasing by several millions each decade, and to offset this by emigration would require an overseas movement of people many times greater than anything known as yet. And the increase in the rest of Asia must be added to this. Further the mere drawing off of the annual increase would do little to help these countries, for what they require is a higher standard of living than that at present experienced. This can only be achieved by altering the economic and social structures of these countries, and the greatest barrier to such a change is the large and expanding population which eats up every improvement in crop yields, industrial development, etc., as soon as it is obtained. Here is a vicious circle indeed.

Even supposing the increase in population could be moved and accommodated elsewhere, would it be possible for these countries to reach a position of stability? There must obviously be some limit to the total world population, and it is therefore a question of how much time have we left?

From the beginning of the expansion of population in Europe to the onset of something approaching stability has been some 150 years, or more. Pre-war Japan was showing signs of a slackening in population growth though since 1945 this tendency has been reversed. It would seem that 40 or 50 years is an absolute minimum, and two or three times as long a more probable period, for Asian nations to reach a state of stable population. Even then this assumes that these nations will pursue the object of stability to some extent, and this is by no means certain.

Therefore we are faced with the task of drawing off perhaps several millions annually, for some 50 years at least and probably longer, and all with no assurance that at the end of this period our avowed aim will become a



reality. Should a mass migration of the extent outlined be possible, and at the end the problem still remain, what then?

But could all these people in any case be settled elsewhere? China expanded into Manchuria, and in a comparatively short time this large area has been filled by the immigrants, and their offspring. And there is no more land in that direction that can be occupied. Java has begun to send settlers to Sumatra, and other parts of Indonesia, though there has been but a trickle as yet. It seems certain that S.E. Asia will be filled by the natural increase of its own peoples in a relatively short time.

Could Australia absorb even a reasonable proportion of the numbers necessary to make any real difference to the condition of the masses of Asia? It is hard to imagine that the answer is "yes." Almost certainly the potential of Australia is quite inadequate to meet such a demand. To open Australia to wholesale Asian immigration would be a wanton and useless sacrifice to the gods of political expediency.

As a political manoeuvre an attack on the "White Australia" policy sounds very well. But as a practical solution to the great problem of population, Australia is an ill-considered piece of imagination. Further, it is very doubtful whether the necessary numbers of Asians could be persuaded to leave their homes, any more than

Europeans can, since the average Asian is still greatly attached to his historical background. As in all previous cases the cry for "living space" is used by politicians as a lever to extend national and personal power, and has little relevance to the population problem.

From this point of view the Australian and Asian problems, though related, are not in the order of cause and effect. In order to develop, Australia must have a greater population, and should a third world war find hostile forces to the North, Australia could well do with larger defence forces than she at present possesses. The "White Australia" policy is but a domestic policy, the like of which any sovereign state is entitled to make, aimed at controlling in certain directions the type of nation into which Australia shall develop. Not unnaturally it aims at the highest standard of living for everyone in the country. The relief which Australia could offer to any country with an excessive population could only be short-lived and fractional. The two sides of the situation are so vastly disproportionate that the experiment is not even worth considering. The solution to the population problem of Asia must be found internally, for the problem is too great for any palliative to avail. That these two problems are so often found on the same political platform, whether in ignorance or with specific intent, cannot be too strongly regretted.

Worker-Peasant Education in China (I)

By Theodore Hsi-En Chen (University of California)

EDUCATION is a major business in China today. If all the agencies of propaganda and indoctrination are included, it may be said that the new authorities in China have launched a vast educational programme of unprecedented breadth and scope. Especially impressive is the effort to bring education within the reach of workers and peasants, who constitute a large portion of China's illiterate population.

There are understandable reasons why the Chinese Communists have paid so much attention to education. In the first place, their programme extends far beyond economic reform or the establishment of a new political regime; it includes an ambitious plan of social revolution, of bringing about fundamental changes in the people's attitude and pattern of living. This change of attitude cannot be accomplished by coercion alone; in the last analysis it must be the task of indoctrination and education to inculcate a new way of life.

Secondly, the Communists attach supreme importance to their ideology. They believe that new habits, new viewpoints, and new social values will naturally grow once the people are properly converted to the "revolutionary ideology" of Marxism-Leninism. To implant the new ideology, they have inaugurated an extensive scheme of "political education," not only in the schools and universities but also in many types of "study groups" and indoctrination classes in factories, in government offices, and in adult education centres in villages as well as in cities.

Thirdly, the Communist regime rests on a delicate balance between persuasion and coercion. Whenever persuasion can secure support it is to be preferred; but coercion is always in the background and is immediately available whenever persuasion fails. The methods of persuasion are those of education, indoctrination, and propaganda. The agencies of education, indoctrination, and propaganda thus assume an importance comparable to that of the police, the security agencies, and the firing squad.

Fourthly, literacy is a necessary prerequisite to successful indoctrination and propaganda. People must be taught to read the posters, to understand the slogans, to study the propaganda leaflets and indoctrination outlines. In order to enhance the efficacy of propaganda and indoctrination, the increase of literacy becomes an urgent task.

Finally, the Communist revolution is a proletarian revolution, the success of which depends on the strength of the proletariat. In unindustrialized China the proletariat

is still very weak and it is necessary for the Communists to recognise the peasants as an "indispensable ally" of the proletariat. Since workers and peasants contribute "the main force" of the revolution, their illiteracy and low educational level must be recognized as a serious problem that demands immediate attention. To educate the workers and peasants is to raise their position and, consequently, to hasten the progress of the proletarian revolution.

Higher Education for Workers and Peasants

Although the new authorities sent specific directives to all schools and universities ordering them to open their doors to workers and peasants, they knew that very few workers and peasants were qualified to enter the regular schools and could afford to pursue the regular courses. It was therefore necessary to establish new institutions specifically designed to meet the needs of workers and peasants.

In higher education, the new government announced the opening of the Chinese People's University in Peking in March, 1950, as a model of a "new-type university" dedicated to the service of the New Democracy. This university was established by a special resolution of the Government Administration Council and set the pattern to be followed by similar institutions in other parts of the country.

Faithfully reflecting the ideology of the proletarian revolution, the Chinese People's University aims to produce a new intelligentsia of proletarian outlook. It recruits its students from among workers and cadres of worker-peasant origin. The two most important requirements for admission into the university are class origin and definite contributions to the new society either in production or in "revolutionary work." Academic qualification is of minor importance. Among the 3,000 students enrolled in the People's University in Peking in the autumn of 1950, sixty per cent were cadres of worker-peasant class origin and six per cent were "advanced industrial workers." Moreover 1,733 of the students were members of the Communist Party and 651 were members of the New Democratic Youth League.

Another distinct characteristic of the People's University is its reliance on "the progressive experience of the Soviet Union." Soviet advisers exercised great influence on the early plans and on the organization of the curricula. Soviet scholars occupy key positions on the faculty. Soviet models are followed in the compilation of textbooks and teaching materials, Soviet theories are

accepted in all fields of study, and Soviet examples are carefully studied in order to learn "the advanced methods developed by the great socialist state."

Finally, the curricula are designed to meet the specific needs of national reconstruction. There are eight regular courses and eleven short-term courses in such fields as economic planning, finance, trade, cooperatives, factory management, law, foreign affairs, and the Russian language. To meet the urgent needs of the state, the length of the courses is reduced as far as possible in order to produce the needed personnel in the shortest possible time. Most of the regular courses take three years, but the Russian course is two years, and the short-term courses enable the students to graduate in eight months.

Secondary Education for Workers and Peasants

It must be noted that the cadres and workers admitted into the People's University are chosen on the basis of their "revolutionary fervour" rather than their academic qualifications. Many of them have had little formal schooling. It is evident, then, that the problem of worker-peasant education must be solved on lower levels. The Chinese Communists have tried to find a solution in the short-term middle schools. While the regular middle school course extends into six years, the short-term middle schools provide an accelerated course which condenses six years of secondary education into three years.

An applicant for admission into a worker-peasant short-term middle school must be between 18 and 30 years of age and must belong to one of three groups of acceptable candidates: (1) worker-peasant cadres who have had least three years of revolutionary work; (2) non-worker-peasant cadres who have had at least five years of revolutionary

work; and (3) workers from factories, mines, farms, and other productive enterprises who have had at least three years of work experience. The academic requirements for admission is flexible, it is loosely stated as "the equivalent of elementary education."

Official spokesmen say that the short-term middle schools serve a number of purposes. They are part of a positive plan to raise the educational level of cadres; they choose the most promising cadres and workers and train them for specific tasks of national reconstruction; and they provide for cadres and workers a short-cut to higher education by enabling them to qualify themselves for higher education in the abbreviated period of three years. Such schools have now been established in major cities and they are supposed to enlist seven thousand students in 1952. It is emphasized that no one who is not a child of a peasant or worker family is eligible for admission. The central purpose of this phase of the educational programme is to produce large numbers of "proletarian intellectuals" who are thoroughly imbued with the ideology and viewpoints of the revolutionary working class and who are ready to accept government assignments to take up key positions in government, industry, propaganda work, and various phases of social, economic, and political reform. Untrammelled by bourgeois ideas, this body of trained cadres and technical personnel will be more trustworthy politically and ideologically than the old intellectuals who have undergone re-education or "reconstruction of thinking." It is to be expected, then, that political indoctrination occupies a central place in the programme of schools. The experience of the Soviet Union and Soviet textbooks and teaching methods are again extolled as worthy models and guides.

(To be continued).

INDO-CHINA'S SCHOOLMASTER-GENERAL

(continued from page 11)

His troops are thoroughly indoctrinated in the justice of their cause and the majority of the population cooperate. Anyone who sides with the French is considered a "traitor" and frequently meets with a sudden death. Although Giap's methods are ruthless, they are somewhat more selective than those of the French. In the days following Lieut. Bernard de Lattre de Tassigny's death at Ninh Bing, the French razed about fifty villages in the area by bombing.

The Vietminh Army, under General Giap's command, is rapidly becoming one of the best small armies in Asia. It still lacks armour, aviation, heavy artillery and modern transport. But with Chinese help these can be grafted on to the present Vietminh Army as easily as the Russians have been able to graft a modern jet air force on to the Chinese Army.

In actual fact there is a chain-adoption system being applied in the Communist portion of Asia. While the Russians are bringing the Chinese Army up to the Russian technical level, the Chinese are bringing their Indo-Chinese

allies up to their technical level. This is done partly by handing on obsolete American-made arms which the Chinese Communists captured from the Kuomintang but are now discarding for newer Soviet equipment. Equally important is the four-month training course Chinese instructors give General Giap's combat divisions and technical officers to raise their combat potential. There are also reports of Chinese advisers serving with the Vietminh but, as General Salan admitted after his Hoabinh defeat, no Chinese body has yet been found.

In the autumn of 1950 Giap struck with the full force of his three newly-strengthened divisions. He drove the French from virtually all their border positions. So strong was his attack that the French contemplated evacuating Hanoi. Only the timely arrival of General de Lattre and a large shipment of U.S. arms saved Hanoi.

The situation in Indo-China has become a military-political test case. Which can grow faster in strength—a Communist-dominated government with majority support internally and the limited support of a Communist neighbour or a quasi-independent conservative government linked with a colonial power and supplied by the United States?

CEYLON'S GENERAL ELECTION

By Austin de Silva (Colombo)

THE first General Election in independent Ceylon, and the fourth since the grant of universal franchise, concluded with a convincing victory to the United National Party which was the governing party when Parliament was dissolved, and which won 54 seats out of 95.

Today, therefore, the United National Party is not only the largest political party in the Island, but its numbers exceed that of all other parties put together, including Independents and the appointed members. With its allies, the Tamil Congress and the Labour Party, the Government party members will total 59.

The combined strength of the Opposition parties is 25, but there are also 11 Independents, some of whom will work with the Opposition and others with the United National Party, thus giving the latter still more strength.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the Nava Lanka Sama Samaj Party, each with nine members, form the main Opposition. Their leaders are Dr. N. M. Perera, heading the Lanka Sama Samaj Party and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. The latter was Minister of Health and Local Government, but left the Government and the United National Party after a disagreement with the late Prime Minister, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, and formed the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. His party is pledged to Democracy, while Dr. Perera and his party are considered to be too far on the Left.

A world-wide interest was taken in this election, especially by members of the Commonwealth, as anxiety was centred on whether the political trend here would be to the Right or to the Left. Even the Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, son of the late Premier, said on the eve of the election: "We begin the most crucial week in the history of free and independent Lanka. Voters throughout the country have to decide which party can form a government which will steer clear of the horrors of totalitarianism and bring us peace and prosperity and stability".

The verdict of the country on this point has now been made clear. The Marxist parties have been practically told that they have no place in Ceylon. Such a rout of the Left was not expected. For the first time the people voted for parties rather than for personalities.

The Communist Party which, at the beginning of the last Parliament had 5 seats, has lost 3. The Nava Lanka Sama Samaj Party, a Leftist Party, which had 13 seats has

lost 4. The Viplavakara Sama Samaj Party, also a Leftist Party, has lost one of the two seats it had. The two leaders of the Marxist parties—Dr. Colvin R. de Silva of the Nava Lanka Sama Samaj Party, and Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe of the Communist Party—have been defeated by United National Party candidates.

The Government have lost two Ministers—Mr. A. E. Koonessinha, Minister of State, and Mr. H. W. Amarasuriya, Minister of Commerce and Trade. The Leader of the Federal Party, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, Q.C., also lost his seat to a United National Party candidate. Twenty-five sitting members, including two Parliamentary Secretaries, lost their seats.

In the new Parliament there are two women members, both Leftists—Mrs. Kusuma Gunawardene and Mrs. S. A. Wickremasinghe. Mrs. Gunawardene is the wife of the Leader of the Viplavakara Sama Samaj Party, Mr. Philip Gunawardene, who was unable to contest a seat as he was disqualified for seven years as the result of a petition when he was elected to the last Parliament. Mrs. Wickremasinghe, a Communist, is the first Englishwoman to be elected to the Ceylon Parliament. She is the wife of Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe.

The country went to the polls on the basis of the 1950 electoral lists from which the names of a large number of Indians had been deleted. The Ceylon Indian Congress made representations on this subject to the Prime Minister, but Mr. Dudley Senanayake declined to accede to their request to grant voting rights to Indian residents whose names did not appear in the 1950 electoral register.

The elections took place during the monsoon, and in one instance a polling station was isolated by floods and the voters had to use boats to reach the spot. In another district the swelling of a stream by flood waters compelled the voters to take a long and devious course to the polling booths. Many of the 2,000 polling stations were temporary cajan-thatched sheds, the Presiding Officers and the clerks were greatly inconvenienced as they had often to shift their desks to avoid leaking roofs. There were separate booths for women. Polling was heavy in all the electorates and the voters included the feeble and the old and the blind and the lame. At a Colombo polling station an aged man of 82 had to be bodily carried into the booth to cast his vote. The elections went off without undue excitement or incidents.

FROM ALL QUARTERS

World Conference on Family Planning

THE International Planned Parenthood Committee, consisting of representatives from Great Britain, Sweden, Holland, India and the United States are arranging to hold a World Conference on population and family planning in Bombay next November.

The purpose of this conference is to bring together physicians, demographers and scientists to study social, economic and cultural factors in relation to population problems. Views will be exchanged on planned parenthood programmes in different countries. The conference will be held under the auspices of the Family Planning Association of India. India was selected in order to ensure a wide representation from Asian countries.

The excessive increases in world population were discussed at the Fifth WHO Assembly last year, when the Norwegian delegate proposed that a Committee of experts be asked to study the health aspects of the world population problem, including possible government propagation of birth control methods in overpopulated countries. Counter-proposals were submitted forbidding the United Nations to take action in this field. This would mean the end of the family planning technical services which WHO is already giving to the Government of India and other countries. However, as no agreement could be reached, it is understood that the WHO is still free to give assistance in response to a government's request but not free to include family planning as a general health measure.

Those who opposed the Norwegian recommendation represented predominantly Roman Catholic countries, but non-Catholic Japan also opposed, which is surprising in view of the latitude of Japanese contraceptive laws.

Roman Catholic groups have also severely criticised WHO for sending Dr. Abraham Stone, the family planning expert, to India last Autumn at India's request. Sir Arcot Mudaliar, the Indian delegate to the WHO Assembly said that India took full responsibility for this step, and other Asian delegates pointed out that the people who might be affected by technical assistance in family planning are not Roman Catholics, or Christian, but belong to other equally traditional religions. In Pakistan, a "national organisation" of "Batchelors' Clubs" has been formed, with the object of sacrificing marriage in order to keep down the population, but such a drastic step has not been received without controversy.

Asian Students in Sweden

SWEDEN'S Government, and economic and her social organisations will be studied by Asian students who have been invited to Sweden under a plan submitted to the National Council of Swedish Youth Organisations. This scheme makes provision for four months of theoretical studies followed by six months of practical observation of the functioning of Swedish schools, hospitals and institutions.

Administration of Chandernagore

ACCORDING to a recent decree, citizens of Chandernagore now become Indian nationals automatically except those who opt for French nationality, and the Foreign Jurisdiction Act will cease to apply. The Municipal Assembly and Administrative Council which have up to now been in charge of the administration of Chandernagore are abolished and in their place the Central Government in the Ministry of External Affairs will appoint an administrator to be Head of the Administration of Chandernagore. An advisory council consisting of five members will be associated with the Administrator. All judges, magistrates and other officers of Chandernagore will continue in office until other provision is made by the Central Government.

Steps will be taken for holding elections based on adult suffrage to elect a municipal council as soon as the new electoral rolls are ready. These arrangements mark the transitional stage in the merger of Chandernagore in the Indian Union.

Chandernagore which was declared a free city by the Government of France in June, 1944, is four square miles in area with a population of 49,212 according to the 1951 census figures. The Government of India and the Government of France agreed in June, 1949, that the future of the French Settlements in India should be determined by the people themselves through a referendum. This referendum was held in June, 1949, and the population decided in favour of India. The Indian Government assumed *de facto* control over Chandernagore from May 2, 1950, pending conclusion of the treaty of cession. This treaty was signed on February 2, 1951, and was ratified on June 9, 1952. Under the Treaty of Cession the Indian Government have freely given the undertaking that any person who wishes to opt for French nationality may do so. Those who do will be permitted to transfer or remove their assets. The Indian Government have also given an assurance that they will assist in the continuance of French cultural heritage in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Malayan Films

IT is not generally known that Malaya has a small film industry of its own. Last year, for instance, 15 full-length feature films were made, and this year it is hoped that this figure will be increased. Apart from the market in Malaya, and perhaps Indonesia, the area of distribution is limited, consequently the industry has to run on a small budget.

Some of the difficulties encountered are the lack of really original local stories, since producers tend to rely on adaptations of imported productions. The printing quality is excellent but editing still presents a problem. After the liberation, local film equipment was practically obsolete and the United States was the only country then able to supply up-to-date replacements.



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Pakistan Volcano

GEOLOGISTS in Pakistan are now investigating the dangers of a possible volcanic disturbance on the island of Kutubdia, 12 miles off the coast of East Pakistan, between Chittagong and Cox's Bazaar, in the Bay of Bengal. This palm-studded island is 58 miles in area and has a population of 40,000, mostly rice cultivators and fishermen, who live in nine villages totalling 5,000 houses. Between March 18 and 21, Kutubdia was subjected to 20 serious earthquake shocks and was pitched and tilted allowing the sea to rush inland to destroy huts and boats. The panic-stricken population was cut off by miles of turbulent water from the mainland.

The Pakistan authorities are now worried as to whether new and more severe volcanic activity must be expected. Kutubdia lies on a seismic belt which runs from the Himalayas through North Pakistan and North India into Assam, the Chittagong Hills and Burma down to Indonesia and New Guinea. This belt includes Mount Lamington in New Guinea which erupted within the last year, killing over 4,000 people, and the notorious Krakatoa. The latter Indonesian island was the scene of the most catastrophic eruption in modern times. It exploded in 1883, blowing off the top of a mountain, and caused a tidal wave 50 feet high, killing 36,000 people.

Tribal Welfare

THE problems of India's 20 million tribal people were discussed at a conference in New Delhi last month.

President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, while addressing the conference—which was the first of its kind ever held—advocated as the main task the spread of education amongst the Scheduled Tribes, and suggested that books could be prepared in the tribal scripts. Dr. Prasad urged that the tribal people should be settled on the land and that their holdings should be made secure. Also, tribal organisations should be encouraged to develop on panchayat lines. Above all, he said, they should be made to feel that they were an integral part of the nation. Pandit Nehru, who also spoke at the conference, drew attention to the solicitude shown by India for her tribal population. Whereas Rs.800,000 had been spent on tribal welfare during 1934-37, nearly Rs.23 million were spent for this purpose during 1948-51. In addition, ministers specially in charge of tribal welfare have been appointed in the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Madhya Bharat. Two ministers in Assam and one in Orissa belong to the Scheduled Tribes, and special departments of tribal welfare have been set up in Assam, Bombay, Madras, Rajasthan and Saurashtra. Pandit Nehru said that the approach to tribal problems should be one of learning from them and, having learnt, to try to help and cooperate.

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BOOKS on the

Aspects of Japan's Labour Problems by MIRIAM S. FARLEY. With a supplement by WILLIAM T. MORAN (New York: The John Day Company for the International Secretariat of the I.P.R., \$3.50)

Before World War II trade unions in Japan hardly deserved their name, and it was only after the occupation that the trade union movement began to grow and the membership rose spectacularly. From a pre-war membership of a mere 40,000 or so the figures swelled to over five million, and the unions could have become the most effective means of Japan's democratisation. With the inflation growing and real wages remaining behind, labour in Japan has become dissatisfied and as long as the legitimate demands of the workers are not met, they will continue in political opposition to the Yoshida Government, whose attitude toward labour is hardening.

All this and much more, especially about the history of the post-World-War II trade union movement in Japan, is dealt with in Miss Farley's excellent book though she seems to have spent only the first year of the post-war period with SCAP. But the compilation of later material is very thoroughly done, and everyone concerned with Japanese trade union policy has to be grateful for the time saving this book makes possible.

JOSEPH KALMER

Southwards From China by WOODROW WYATT (Hodder and Stoughton, 10s. 6d.)

The last war had a catalytic effect upon the nationalism of India and South-East Asia and *Southwards from China* brings out vividly the twist and turn of events since 1945. For those who are in need of a broad survey of this vital area, this book will be an indispensable introduction to the subject.

In dealing with events leading to the partition of India, Mr. Wyatt traces clearly the complex relationships and differences between the Muslim League and Congress. "It was Mr. Jinnah who wore out Gandhi. Jinnah fought his battle on one note only, he knew that in arguments over details or on questions of morality Gandhi and his followers would tie him in knots—they were far too clever for him . . . It was his policy to remain rigid and adamant and not to argue at all and by his persistence he eventually broke down the other side." Having been on the spot myself while some of this struggle was being decided I agree with Wyatt that: "Historically it was more satisfactory that months of argument should precede a solution and that leaders of both sides should be brought together and forced to see the merits in each other's view point . . . It took longer but the results will probably be more lasting." The author, nevertheless, believes that only the

FAR EAST

fact that India and Pakistan are both members of the British Commonwealth has saved them from war.

Other chapters deal with Burma, Indo-China, Siam, Malaya and Indonesia. Here I think that the influence of the Communist Calcutta Conference in February 1948 is over-emphasised. It is conceding too much the Communists to believe that their decisions at Calcutta could have a major effect upon the destiny of Burma, Malaya and Indonesia. For instance Mr. Wyatt writes: "It is not yet completely clear why the Communists in Malaya started their campaign of organised violence." He adds later that the most likely explanation is that they were acting in conformity with the general plan of campaign for violence and sabotage which was worked out at the Calcutta Conference.

In Burma he feels that the Burmese were fighting one of the decisive battles of the post-war world, a fact which he considers most of the West failed to realise. He accuses the American Embassy in Rangoon of being blind to the situation and deprecates their pro-Karen reports, because a Karen victory would, the author argues, eventually give Upper Burma to the Communists of China.

While not accepting entirely the author's views, I agree that his analysis of the whole Burmese problem is forceful and penetrating.

HAROLD DAVIES

Ordeal by Slander by OWEN LATTIMORE (*MacGibbon and Kee*, 13s. 6d.)

The recent U.S. State Department edict placing Prof. Owen Lattimore of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, on the list of persons to whom no passports are to be issued appears to be the beginning of a new chapter of witch-hunting campaigns against the man who has been often described as the best informed American on Asian affairs. C. P. Fitzgerald, the British authority on East Asian affairs, although disagreeing with some interpretations by Lattimore of Asia's post-war problems, wrote in the preface to *Solution in Asia* that Lattimore's "approach is objective and his knowledge of the subject profound..." Similar appreciations of Lattimore's books by prominent students of Asian affairs could be easily multiplied. *Ordeal by Slander* was first published in the U.S.A. in 1950 and its recent publication in this country is to be welcomed, as it gives an account of the first phase in the campaign against this prominent sociologist. It describes how Lattimore, while serving with a special U.N. Mission in Afghanistan in March 1950, received a cable that Senator McCarthy had accused him of being the top Soviet agent. The book gives a detailed and fascinating description of the

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hearings at the Senatorial Committee which acquitted Lattimore of these absurd charges. The problems involved are, however, far more important than the fate of an individual in modern American society, although every injustice committed against an individual constitutes an injustice against the entire community.

One of the larger principles concerned is stressed by Lattimore, when he writes in this book that:

A tide of fear has swept Washington and is undermining the freedom of the nation. We cannot turn that tide just by vindicating each individual who has been falsely accused; we must re-establish the freedom to inquire and the freedom to express opinions based on independent inquiry. These two freedoms are the flesh and the spirit of our political and intellectual freedom. Unless they are recognised by more than lip service; unless we can actually enjoy them in practice, the rights of the citizen are doomed.

Another problem is the relation between public opinion and government policy, in this case American policy towards Asia. If the citizens of a country in general, and independent scientists in particular, are afraid to voice their opinions and "thought control" is introduced, then democracy becomes a farce, making the fight against totalitarianism in other countries ineffective and devoid of any moral basis.

V. WOLPERT

The Economy of Ceylon by SIR IVOR JENNINGS (*Oxford University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 10s. 6d.*)

This is a readable book that contains information useful to students and to the general public inasmuch as it gives statistics that could be collected from various official sources only with considerable labour.

But if it is intended to provide undergraduates in the University of Ceylon with an exposition, even elementary, of economic laws related to their country, as is suggested in the preface to the first edition and categorically stated on the jacket, then it fails to achieve this.

Except for the Chapter on Population, which is good, there is an almost complete absence of the economic principles that guide the economy of Ceylon (as indeed that of any other country), and, in this vacuum, there can be no attempt at the equilibrium analysis of economic problems that modern technique demands: nor is there any mention of the concept of the margin, without which economics has little meaning.

Both money and capital are treated superficially. The author will be well advised to delete in any future edition his statement that land is capital. It is nothing of the kind except in a limited financial sense: it is one of the four fundamental agents of production.

The case against the book is not so serious if its aim is to present an overall picture of the economy (as distinct from *economics*) of Ceylon for the general reader.

The account of rural Ceylon is good. The poverty of the peasant is brought out: even at the best of times most

of the population of the Island lives on the verge of starvation. The author describes some of the measures taken by the Government to relieve distress, particularly colonization schemes and irrigation works. The establishment of cooperative societies has been encouraged in order to break the hold that the village stores have on the cultivator. The account of attempts at rural reconstruction is admirable.

The condition of the peasant is so bad that industrialisation has been suggested in order to raise the standard of life. This argument is considered, and Sir Ivor examines the solid objections to the plan: there is no trained labour, the required capital would be difficult to raise, and what is Ceylon to make? In any case the internal market for all kinds of goods is small. All these difficulties are intelligently discussed.

L. DELGADO

The Industrial Economy of India Role of Private Enterprise in India—in Retrospect and Prospect

The Working of State Enterprises in India

(All published by the Employers' Association, Calcutta. Rs.1 each).

These three reports give us a bird's eye view of Indian industry, but much of their value is destroyed by a decided bias in their presentation. The first pamphlet is somewhat over-optimistic of the efficiency of Indian industry, which has not yet had time to prove itself in a buyers' market or against the competition of Japan. No mention is made of India's need of Western technical help or of Western capital.

The second study gives a sketch of the growth of the major industries, and describes the change from British to native ownership. Here again we have the assumption that Indian industry is capable of meeting all demands. No attempt is made to examine the influence of the low standard of life on the efficiency of labour or on the market for finished goods.

The third pamphlet surveys the growth of State enterprise in the country, for which it has little to say in favour and much against. It is, of course, right to be outspoken when criticism is due—and there is, indeed, much to criticise—but this report is less than generous to the heroic attempts made by the Indian Government to fill in gaps in the country's economy. Would private enterprise have undertaken any of the river valley projects or any other scheme with few hopes of immediate profit?

However, these studies taken together enable us to judge the progress that Indian industry has made. There seems little doubt that given adequate capital, a more efficient labour force, and a wealthier home market there is little that Indian industry could not do. It is to be hoped that future reports of this nature will be based on economic reasoning and not on the specious arguments of the political field. They will be all the more valuable for it.

L. DELGADO

Indians Overseas: 1838-1949 by C. KONDAPI (Oxford University Press: Geoffrey Cumberledge, 35s.)

This important volume is published under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, of which the author is Assistant Secretary. He began his studies of Indians abroad in 1940, as a Research Scholar in the Madras University, and he has since contributed much to our information on the subject and has gained experience both in the Far East and the Far West, which have now come so near to each other, both in time and space.

It is a fact, though news to most people, that Indians have travelled widely from time immemorial, and have carried their trade, their culture, and—as is sometimes forgotten in India where Colonial conquest is anathema—their government and administration to distant lands. Indeed, the earliest known contacts with the American Continent are said to have been on the Pacific coast, from India (whether, originally, by design and navigation or by storm and stress is unknown), and not from Scandinavia or Spain, as is commonly thought. Today, there are nearly four million Indians living overseas, mostly in the British Commonwealth and Empire, apart from the far larger populations that have had an intermingling of Indian blood through the centuries.

In this impressive volume, only a brief sketch is given of these earlier adventures in Indian emigration. The book in general is mainly devoted to a description of the emigration of Indian workers under the indenture system, with its tragic consequences, which was devised to replace native and African labour liberated by the abolition of slavery within the British Empire, in 1833 (incidentally, a whole generation and more before the American slaves were emancipated—and without a Civil War).

Though referring frequently to distinguished non-official authorities and writings, the author relies mostly upon official documents, to which he has been very fortunate to have had access, and he has produced a work which—subject to later observations herein—should be more valuable on this important branch of Indian political and economic history than anything hitherto published.

One aspect of it in particular deserves special emphasis, namely, the activities of the Government of India and some of its high officials, in an increasing degree during the last half-century, to investigate the conditions of Indian life overseas and to secure the removal of the many disabilities and discriminations from which these Indian communities have suffered for so long. Increasingly, the high authorities in India accepted responsibility for a progressive policy which they had, not infrequently and not always with the latter's willing consent or cooperation, to impress energetically upon those in Whitehall. In this respect, at any rate, in the earlier years of change, they anticipated the reactions of Indian public opinion which, in due course, they interpreted with vigour and understanding, particularly after the inclusion of Indians in the Government of India.

The author goes fully into the history and development of the indentured labour system and shows once more, what others had already brought to public notice, its evils, the dreadful conditions of recruitment in India (mainly by Indians themselves), the shocking conditions of service and of living in the overseas countries to which the unhappy workers were transported, and the often unfair conditions attaching to their repatriation to the Motherland. In the latter part of this book the author describes in detail the racial disabilities under which the free Indians overseas have laboured and still labour in many parts of the Commonwealth and Empire, especially in South and East Africa, and the many impediments placed in the way of the immigration into these countries. He also discusses a number of useful and interesting suggestions for the removal of these acts of discrimination.

This is a book worth studying by all who are concerned to analyse the different aspects of man's inhumanity to man, in spite of religious prohibitions. On the other hand, it also helps to show how, from time to time, the human conscience is awakened and some reparation is made. It remains to be seen now how long—and if not with what consequences—South Africa can maintain its hostility to decisions against her and appeals to her better nature by the United Nations, whose Charter, which South Africa has formally approved and adopted, contains in its first Article a recognition that the purposes and principles include:—

“(iii). To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.”

Having regard to the author's status in the Indian Council of World Affairs, whose President is Dr. H. N. Kunzru (also the President of the Servants of India Society, whose President-Founder, G. K. Gokhale, gave the study of the problems of Indians overseas its earliest impetus), there are some surprising omissions of references, primal facts, and personalities connected with these activities.

Several important and useful works should have been noted in an otherwise very valuable Bibliography. One is Edward Jenkins's *The Coolie: His Rights and Wrongs*, which deals largely with early days of Indian indentured labour in British Guiana. Another is Basil Lubbock's *The Coolie Ships and Oil Sailer* describing the horrible conditions in which the early indentured labourers were obliged to travel to their distant destinations. Yet another is that oft-quoted work by Lord Olivier, *White Capital and Coloured Labour*. It is difficult to understand why the authors omit all reference to Mr. Winston Churchill's standard book, *My African Journey*, written after a visit to East Africa, in 1907, when Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in which he pays a never-to-be-forgotten tribute to the pioneer work in East Africa of the Indian community through several centuries and puts their argument for fair and equal treatment at

its highest. No mention, too, is made of Dr. Norman Leys's valuable books, *Kenya* and *Kenya From Within*. Nor does the author mention A. M. Jeevanjee's *An Appeal on Behalf of the Indians in East Africa* (1911) and his pioneer work in connection with the building of the Uganda Railway. Another important omission is *Race and Politics in Kenya*, by Elspeth Huxley and Margery Perham, with an introduction by that high authority, Lord Lugard.

The author nowhere refers to the fact that, but for the blunt refusal of Lord Curzon to tolerate it, Indian indentured labour would have been extended to the Orange River Colony, and thereafter to the Transvaal, after the Boer War; nor does he mention Lord Curzon's constant support of the South African Indian case in the House of Lords.

What is even more remarkable is that he seems to have been unaware that it was primarily due to Mahatma Gandhi, with his years of practical experience in South Africa, that Mr. Gokhale—with the detailed information furnished to him and the Indian public by Mr. H. S. L. Polak during his tours on behalf of the South African Indian community in the course of the *satyagraha* campaign—took the initiative in promoting the movement which resulted in the termination of indentured labour emigration to South Africa, in 1911, and which prepared the ground for Gandhiji and his colleagues and co-workers to help to bring to an end the evil system throughout the Empire, in 1920.

Curiously, the author, though very properly making several references to Mr. S. A. Waiz's writings on Indians abroad, never mentions that these were published under the auspices of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay (whose only three life-members were Gandhiji, Rev. C. F. Andrews, and Mr. Polak) which, together with the corresponding Indian South African League of Madras, under the dynamic leadership of G. A. Natesan, came into existence as the direct result of Mr. Polak's first all-India lecture-tour, in 1909-10, under the auspices of the Servants of India Society. Nor does he refer to Mr. Polak's book *The Indians of South Africa: Helots Within the Empire*, the first authoritative and detailed material published in India, by G. A. Natesan & Co., in 1909, neither does he recall anywhere Gandhiji's frequent tributes, in *Satyagraha in South Africa* and elsewhere, or those of Gokhale, Motilal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sastri, and other leaders of the period, to Mr. Polak's work on behalf of the South African Indians, both as the editor of *Indian Opinion* and as their widely travelled representative, during a period of thirteen years.

Indeed, the only mention of him in the book under review is in a footnote where he is shown as a co-author, with Dr. Kunzru and others, of a memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on behalf of the East African Indian Congress, in 1929, though one of the

earliest statements on their behalf to the British public is contained in a lecture by him to the East India Association eight years earlier with Lord Chelmsford, the former Viceroy.

Mention is made, in a list of organizations of Indians overseas, of the Indians Overseas Association (London)—which no longer exists since the Government of India took the lead in making representations to the British Government on these matters—with no mention of the fact that, with Gandhiji's strong approval, Mr. Polak helped to found the Association and was for some fifteen years its active Hon. Secretary. It would seem that details of history, important to one generation, are often forgotten or overlooked by a succeeding one. But without a record of such details in their due perspective, with their causes and consequences, it is difficult, if not impossible, to appreciate the true picture of events as they have occurred.

P.G.N.

Eastern Science by H. J. J. WINTER (*John Murray, 5s.*)

Recent years have seen an increasing and significant interest in and study of the history of that great legacy of science which came to full fruition in the scientific renaissance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Previously the achievements of the ancient Greeks were accepted with little question as the *fons et origo* of "Natural Philosophy" in the West, with some recognition in the field of Mathematics of ancient Egyptian sources. But modern research such as the recent archeological discoveries in India at Taxila and Mohenjo-Daro have disclosed many contributory streams deriving from the ancient civilizations of Babylon and Assyria, the Indus Valley, ancient and medieval China, and medieval India.

The present little book is a wide and scholarly survey of the results of modern research by a well-known writer on the history of science. It offers in the surprisingly small compass of ninety-nine pages a compendious and balanced synthesis of, in the words of its sub-title, the scope and contribution of Eastern science from the earliest known civilizations to modern times.

The first three chapters deal with science in the ancient civilizations: pre-Greek, in medieval China and medieval India. The fourth chapter, the longest in the book, treats of the fascinating Arab heritage. Here we get an admirable, condensed assessment of the noble legacy left by the Arabs to Western Europe. It brings home to the reader the vast store of scientific knowledge accumulated by the Muslim world and then enlarged before it passed to medieval European scholars. It is exciting to read that possibly the Syrian physician Al Nafus in the thirteenth century anticipated by about two hundred years William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood. If this is eventually confirmed it is to be hoped its announcement will not be confined to the learned journals.

Under "Modern Times" a well-merited tribute is paid to the development by the Japanese of the mathematical theory of determinants. It is good that this achievement should be brought to general notice.

A full bibliography is appended. Altogether this book is an authoritative and a stimulating guide to a fascinating subject.

W. A. GARSTIN

Taiga by IVAR LISSNER (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe)

Dr. Lissner's book (in German) about the Manchurian Taiga is anything but the usual travelogue. It is foremost and mainly a highly poetical and at the same time starkly realistic description of his own and his travel companions' reactions to the ever changing swamp, river and virgin forest land they had to cross in order to reach a gold bearing quartz region south of the Amur.

Sprinkled with personal stories, *Taiga* also contains excursions into the history of the Russian conquest of the Siberian Far East and a sketch of the life of the reindeer-breeding and hunting Orochons as well as the horse-breeding Manegas; both these Tungusian tribes are doomed to extinction, since they are unable or unwilling to adapt themselves to the more civilised life of what at the time of Herr Lissner's travels was Manchukuo and is now the Chinese North East.

Ethnologists and geographers as well as the general reader should be grateful for this book about a country now hermetically closed to Western visitors.

JOSEPH KALMER

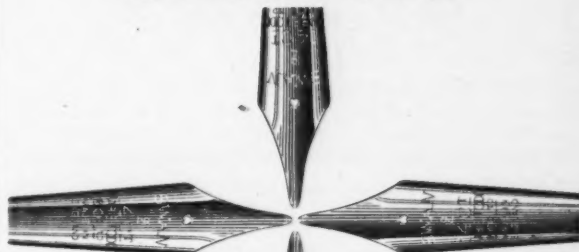
The Tribal Art of Middle India by VERRIER ELWIN (Oxford University Press, 30s.)

In recording, both in its text and in its many fine illustrations, the best of what is left of tribal art in present-day Middle India, this delightful book preserves before it is too late the spontaneous expression of a people's spirit. The Kond masks, Juang combs, the Maria bison-horn head-dresses, the Gond and Pardhan funerary pillars, Santal carving and Saora pictographs may before long become Lost Arts as the process of assimilation of the tribes into the main body of Indian life and society continues.

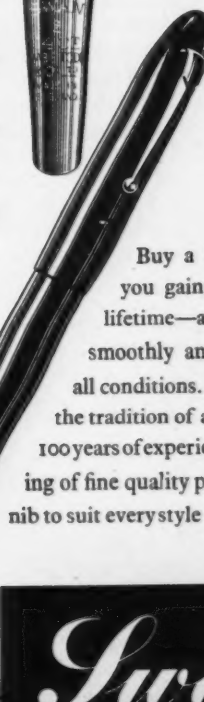
Many of the symbols and designs found today occur also in finds from the city of Harappa, thus perhaps adding some proof to the theory that many of the tribes of so-called aborigines in the Indian sub-continent are descendants of the Indus Valley folk who took refuge in the inaccessible hill tracts from the invading Aryans.

These tribes developed great skill in fashioning articles for self-adornment, for religious performance and for use, finding a stylisation and symbolism of their own. Unfortunately, through the encroachment of the Indian concept that manual work is menial, combined with their

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growing loss of self-confidence, both in themselves and in their society, the tribes are producing less and less vigorous art. Only the Nagas are free from this pervading sense of inferiority and their artistic expression is therefore still redolent of their belief in themselves and their joy in life.

In spite of this fact, however, the book's many illustrations show that there is much which can be called art still being produced in Middle India, while the Saora pictographs are outstanding in interest and versatility.

Inside a Saora village in the inaccessible wooded hills of Orissa almost every house has a picture gallery on one of its walls. But these elaborate pictographs done in rice-paste on a red clay ground are not there to be looked at for pleasure or admired as decoration. They depict the spirit world and are there to placate the unseen spirits that have brought trouble upon the household. The figures are stylised, but lively, and the composition shows a good sense of order and design. Like the cave paintings of Europe and Africa these examples of a fine primitive art must unfortunately be seen in situ and few people have been able to do so. Apart from other reasons, this alone makes Dr. Elwin's book with its fine and profuse illustrations a publication of the greatest importance.

WINIFRED HOLMES

Breeding Birds of Kashmir by R. S. P. BATES and E. H. N. LOWTHER (*Oxford University Press*, 38s.)

The student of Indian birds, and most particularly the visitor to the lovely Vale of Kashmir, whose interests include some ornithological experience, will find this book essential for reference. Its 355 pages of text and 151 photographs give the reader far more information than he will find in many modern, expensive bird books that prove to be little more than "cradles for photographs." However, the present work assumes a background of general bird knowledge, and of the three leading textbooks on Indian birds. It is not a diray of reminiscence and opinion but an ornithologists' text book, a reference work which will become the standard one for bird information within the 85,000 square miles of the State of Kashmir and Jammu.

The authors had this book in mind when they began photographing birds in 1920. They started the text in

1943. It is singularly free from errors and misprints, although many of the birds lack adequate description for the novice to identify them, but in addition to photographs there are coloured plates to help him. The zoological interest of the region is its climatic range from tropical to high alpine (or arctic) conditions. The Vale of Kashmir is at 5,000 feet, but its birdlife is influenced by the surrounding peaks and forests and the book deals with those that breed in the valleys of Kashmir, Jhelum, Kishenganga and the Upper Wardwan valley of Kishtwar, including the slopes and sides of the valleys, which the authors visited during their stay in India.

An English naturalist who has not had the pleasure of visiting Kashmir will find this book worth reading, for not only are several of its birds, like the long-eared owl, the marsh-harrier and the teal, also on the British list, but many more are the eastern geographical races of familiar British birds.

ERIC HARDY

Is This Peace? by S. RADHAKRISHNAN (*Hind Kitabs, Bombay, Rs. 1-8*)

With this pamphlet Professor S. Radhakrishnan, already a philosopher of international repute, steps into the arena of international politics. He considers the subject to fall within his purview, as for him politics, as "the art of promoting human welfare and happiness," is a branch of ethics. His general attitude to the post-War world, with its various problems, weaknesses and shifting political ideologies, is therefore essentially a moral one. The work is short but informative. It is a masterly survey of the general international situation.

S.B.

Flood Damage and Flood Control in Asia and the Far East (*Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East*, \$1.50)

This volume, the first in the Flood Control Series which the Bureau is preparing, is a valuable work of reference covering the problems of flooding in all the major rivers of the East, including the Yangtze, the Yellow River and the Pearl River in China. Following a study of the hydrology of the area and general notes on the development of flood control works we have a river by river statement of what is involved in each basin. The basic data and general features of the basins are given, together with an account of the problems of flooding and flood damage and the proposed plan of control and such control activities as have been carried out.

Of particular interest is the section on the Yellow River, which has changed its course more often than any other river. It presents a flood problem which has been tackled by the hardworking Chinese for thousands of years but still awaits a solution. Here is a challenge to the skill and industry of the new rulers of China.

FARUKHSIYAR

LITERARY TRADITIONS IN INDIA

By Krishna Chaitanya (New Delhi)

ALTHOUGH it is generally known that ancient India had a developed literature, the continuity of literary traditions, after the classical age was over and modern vernaculars began to develop, is not always realised. Just as Spanish, Italian and French developed out of Latin stock, the languages of North India have evolved from a Sanskritic stock and the languages of the peninsula from a Dravidian origin and are today different from each other in the diversity and wealth of their literature.

It is impossible to give here details of all these continuous literary traditions but a bird's eye view of the evolution of Hindi, Urdu, Tamil and Malayalam literatures will perhaps convey something of the variety of India's literary traditions. Hindi and Tamil have been chosen because they are closest to Sanskrit and the ancient Dravidian language from which the numerous languages of the North and the Peninsula are respectively derived. Urdu has been selected because it is the product of the mingling of indigenous Hindu traditions with influences which came from the Muslim world of the Near East. And Malayalam literature is the product of the cross-fertilization of Sanskritic and Dravidian influences and has some interesting features worth noting.

The literature of Hindi, whose dialects are spoken in Rajputana, Delhi, the United Provinces, Central India and Bihar, has its beginning in ballads and romantic tales dating back to the seventh century. But its classical phase was reached with the devotional literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The product of a deep and widely shared faith, this literature transcended all social barriers. Kabir was a weaver, Raidas a shoe-maker, Dhanna a peasant, Sadana a butcher, Sena a barber, Nam Deva a tailor, Tulsidas a Brahmin and Meera a princess.

This religious literature falls into two categories: mystic and epic. Kabir and Meera belong to the first tradition and Surdas and Tulsidas to the second. Kabir called his own poetry the *Awry Flute*, for its strains were not of this earth. In intimate contact with spiritual realities, his verse synthesised Islam and Hinduism and proclaimed the Unity of God while remaining homely and using similes from common life. The succinct finality of his couplets have made proverbs of many of them. The two hundred lyrics of Meera show the emotional absorption of Kabir's intellectual realisation of the deep yearning of the human soul for God. The intensity of her verse often recalls Sappho.

Coming to the epic tradition, blind Surdas sang of Krishna in Brajabbasha, an exquisitely musical dialect. In his affection for Krishna, the poet forgot that he was a

divine incarnation and the most attractive quality of his verse is its amorous tenderness, which is at its finest when he describes the pranks of the infant Krishna and the love episodes of Krishna and Radha. Of a different temperament was Tulsidas, the devotee of Rama, the other divine incarnation. Gifted with a keen sense of humour, forceful and entertaining in his dialogues, penetrating in his study of human types, Tulsidas was a master of narrative art, and handled short and long Hindi metres with superb skill and appropriateness.

In spite of the patronage of Akbar, Hindi literature declined during the later days of the Mogul Empire and its subsequent renaissance was a fruit of the contact with the West. With Maithili Saran Gupta, one of the most revered of contemporary poets, who has already celebrated his Golden Jubilee, the reaction to the impact of the West took the form of a romantic nostalgia for the heroic past. This lone survivor of the epic tradition was however the first to use modernised Hindi and to break away from archaic diction and forms. A lofty idealism is the fundamental trait of his poetry, which has again and again held up the ideal of the unity of mankind.

Suryakant Tripathi Nirala, unlike Gupta, has passed through many phases. A classicist in his mythological poems, a mystic who has studied Hindu and Sufi traditions, a romantic poet in his poems on the strength and sweetness of human sentiments, Nirala has today realised his mission as the advocacy of a humane socialist creed. His recent poetry, written in a simple and telling style, occasionally displaying the keen edge of satire, preaches no narrow party politics but draws its inspiration from the deeper levels of human nature, its need for companionship and its responsiveness to pity.

The novel as an art form is a gift from the West. After clumsy experiments in the bizarre, it came to maturity with Prem Chand, who recalls Dickens in the abundance of his creations. His characters belong to all classes of society and his work has caught the heady inspiration of the fight for national liberation and recorded many of its vicissitudes. In contrast, the preoccupations of undoubtedly brilliant writers like Jainendra and Ila Chandra Joshi are with the problems raised by the individual's ego. But the intense sincerity of writers like Vatsyayana and Yashpal have brought them back to the fold of the common people, to the realisation that individuality is not lost when one identifies one's destiny with that of society.

Probably no other two languages in the world show such intimate affinity as Hindi and Urdu. Since it developed out of the native spoken dialect, Urdu shares its

stock of basic words with Hindi. But while Hindi retained the Sanskrit script, Urdu took over the Arabic and for the further enrichment of its vocabulary and literary forms it turned to the Muslim traditions of the Near East. Mogul patronage explained this development and today, it continues to be the medium of distinguished writers, both Hindu and Muslim.

The association with the life of the courts seems to have arrested the development of the language in the early days, for the beautiful shell of lyrical and elegiac verse, taken over from Persian poetry, often contained no real personal experience. The development of the *Mushaira*, an institution which resembled the French salons of the seventeenth century, further prevented vitalising contacts. The *Mushairas* were gatherings of the refined, where poets recited their flowery pieces and were applauded with decorum. Since recitation was the mode of communication, the poet had to rely upon felicity of phrase and simplicity of thought if he had to flourish. And though men like Wali and Mir Taqui Mir often strike a personal note, for a strong lyrical tradition we have to wait until the nineteenth century.

Urdu literature came of age with Ghalib (1796-1865). A pleasure-loving temperament caught in the mesh of

worldly troubles, Ghalib expressed himself in a style which brings him close to the English metaphysical poets like John Donne. His pessimism and philosophical bias are brought out by these verses:

"Before the seed was laid
And flesh encumbered my poor soul,
When all was naught but nothingness,
Then unto God was I in his ubiquity.
But living now, a body circumscribed
His glory left behind in trailing clouds
Existence lost me all, I am undone."

But in his letters, which mark the beginning of Urdu prose, Ghalib reveals himself as a genial and lovable personality. The style is simple and forceful, humour enlivens even sad recollections and scattered among the letters are literary appreciations which reveal a keen critical insight.

Hali (1837-1914) marks the transition from the older and fully personal poetry to the modern mood which is intensely preoccupied with the social milieu. He broods over the decline of Muslim fortunes, criticises social evils, demands the restoration of woman to equality of status with man and satirises the social parasites:

"O holy man, all worldly goods abjured
Would it were meet, abjure hypocrisy too!"
(To be continued)

THE TODAS OF NILGIRIS

By O. S. Krishnamurthy (Delhi)

THE Toda population of the Nilgiri Hills of South India is gradually dwindling. In 1901, it was 805 but today it is only 480, and efforts are being made by the Indian Government to stop a further decline. In common with the other 6 million aborigines of India, the Todas have not assimilated with their Hindu neighbours.

The Todas belong, perhaps, to an early Mediterranean stock. The men are generally tall and robust, with somewhat Caucasian features. They have luxuriant hair and beards, and large and attractive eyes. The women are also tall and well-built and are often strikingly beautiful. Formerly, they favoured tattooing but this custom is dying out. Both sexes wear their hair in long, glossy ringlets. Their costume is simply a large unbleached piece of cotton cloth wrapped negligently over the body.

Toda settlements or *mands* are situated on secluded hill slopes. Each *mand* consists of about five huts, three being used as dwellings, one as a dairy and the other as a stable for buffaloes. The huts are circular with a conical roof, and are built of bamboo, fastened together with rattan. The entrance into the hut is only about two feet square, and since there are no other openings or ventilators

the hut is almost air-tight. The entrance is closed by a plank of wood or a solid slab of stone. The Todas keep a few metal utensils and earthen pots for cooking and dairying purposes.

Being essentially pastoralists, the wealth of the Todas consists of their buffaloes on whose milk and products they entirely depend. Buffaloes and their milk play a vital part in their daily life, and even form the basis of the Toda religion. The dairy is their temple and the dairyman their priest. No one but the priest is allowed to enter the dairy and the dairyman has to undergo a rigorous period of probation before he is finally ordained.

The Toda religion mentions certain Superior Beings, and their temples each have a presiding deity, a bell to which an occasional libation is offered, taking the place of an image. One of the Toda Gods is called "On" who, himself a dairyman, is supposed to have created the Todas and their buffaloes. "Teikirzi," their Goddess, is believed to have actually ruled over the people of Nilgiris. Both these and several other Toda gods were worshipped by the Babylonians.

One of the Toda customs which still prevails is the practice of polyandry. Formerly, polyandry of the fraternal type was possible owing to the lesser number of females and the prevalence of female infanticide, but today polyandry is often combined with polygyny owing to the preponderance of females and the check successfully imposed on female infanticide.

The resulting unions have not created any insuperable problem for the Todas as far as the determination of fatherhood is concerned since what cannot be decided by marriage is done by a ceremony. At the seventh month of her pregnancy a Toda woman undergoes a ceremony which consists of giving a bow and arrow to a man of her choice. This function is not repeated before every childbirth, since the man who is accepted as the father of the first child enjoys rights over the succeeding children as well.

Betrothal takes place in infancy and this led to the custom of frequently transferring wives from one man to another. There is a council of five called Naim which governs the Todas and whose chief function is to adjudicate cases arising out of the transference of wives.

The Toda language is similar to Dravidian languages, especially Tamil, and they will converse with visitors in Tamil. They are hospitable and their women, in anticipation of a small *bakshish*, entertain the visitors with dancing and music, the latter rather resembling a funeral dirge, presumably because funeral ceremonies are assigned an honourable place in their rituals.

The Todas perform elaborate rites to the dead. These rites are performed on two occasions. The first ceremony is known as the "green funeral" and occurs soon after death. Before the body is cremated, buffaloes are sacrificed and the right hand of the corpse is made to clasp one of the horns of the buffalo. Relatives of the dead utter lamentations and address the buffalo in intimate



A Toda Hut

The entrance is the small opening in the centre

terms. After the cremation, a piece of the skull is preserved for the second ceremony, or "dry funeral," which takes place after a lapse of many months. In the intervening period, any Toda happening to be at the *mand* of the deceased visits the place where the relics are lodged and pays homage to them. In the second funeral ceremony buffaloes are again killed and on the following night the relics are cremated within a stone enclosure. The ashes are buried, and after the ringing of a bell all those assembled go away without looking back at the final resting place. The Todas believe in the existence of the "other world" to which the spirit of the deceased is supposed to depart. The world of the dead where they lead the same kind of life as on the earth is ruled by their Supreme Being "On."

The impact of civilisation has not appreciably affected the Todas. A few have been converted to Christianity but they have ceased to have any relationship with their original tribesmen. The Christian Todas have received education and are in employment as teachers, clerks or in the army. Generally, the non-converts dislike any avocation except their ancient profession of cattle grazing. The British administration tried to protect them by confining them to "excluded areas" and even today, in spite of criticism of this system, the Indian government continues this policy with some modifications. It is hoped that ultimately all India's aboriginal tribes will become assimilated and one of the first steps in this direction was the extension of the franchise to these areas. Together with the Scheduled Castes, they have been allotted special seats in Parliament and the Assemblies.

However, as the eminent anthropologist spokesman for the aborigines of India, Dr. Verrier Elwin, has pointed out, assimilation brings with it the danger of extermination—the aim is that the tribesmen should be a real and vital part of Indian civilization but should be encouraged to preserve their identity, culture and language.



A Toda patriarch. His stature, carriage erect and Caucasian features distinguish the Toda from other Indian aboriginal Tribes

LONDON NOTEBOOK

Chinese Painting of the Ch'ing Dynasty

The chinoiserie of fashionable European taste of the 18th Century was not derived from the great early periods of Chinese art, but from the decorative and charming, but declining, art of the Manchu Ch'ing Dynasty. This can clearly be seen in a special exhibition now being held in the British Museum, of brush and finger-tip painting and woodcut prints in colour, of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Technical skill was still very high, but there is a suggestion of elegant amusement, of sophisticated fastidi-

ousness, about the work of the artists—both “gentlemen” and professionals—of the time.

The subjects are traditional—landscapes, old pine trees, girls with flowers, animals and birds, ladies with attendants, caricatures like “The Toad, Hsien” by Ming Cheng.

It is less in the brush and finger-tip paintings of the period, however, than in the coloured prints from woodcuts that the ancestry of European chinoiserie can be seen. Two sets of these prints are on view. Made in Soochow, the great artistic centre, in the 17th century, they were collected in Japan by Dr. Kaempfer, the German traveller and botanist, and brought to Europe among his papers. From there they passed into Dr. Hans Sloane's collection and

became the property of the British Museum at its foundation in 1755.

Because they have not often been exhibited these prints have kept a pristine clarity of colour. The paper is very white, and the flowers and birds have retained their brilliancy.

Indian High Commissioner

The appointment of Mr. B. G. Kher as the new Indian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom

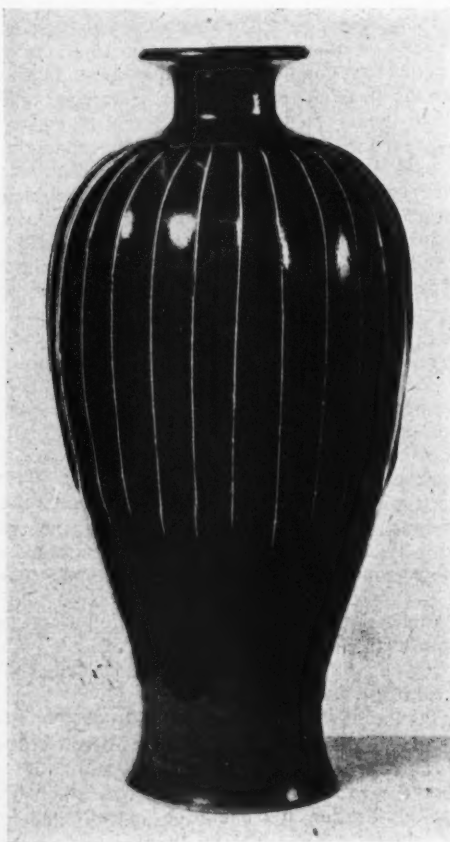


has been welcomed in London. There is genuine goodwill towards India in the U.K., and a High Commissioner who can further the friendly relations between the two countries will be received with enthusiasm.

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Kher was born in 1888. As a prominent lawyer and politician, he played an important part in India's struggle for independence. From 1937-39, and then again from 1945-52, he was Premier of the State of Bombay.

Mr. Kher is also well known for his social and humanitarian activities which centre around welfare work for children and the scheduled tribes.

It is understood that Mr. K. Menon, the former High Commissioner, is retiring from official life



Ceramic Exhibition

The object of the Oriental Ceramic Society is to promote appreciation and knowledge of Ceramic and other forms of Eastern Art. One way it does this is by organising Spring and Autumn exhibitions in London.

During May the subject was Chun and Brown Glaze wares of the Sung dynasty (960-1279). Amongst a very fine display of 218 pieces, was this vase covered with a rich black glaze, the ribs in light relief, from the collection of Mrs. Alfred Clark. Eight items were lent by the King of Sweden.

For its Autumn exhibition the Society intends to assemble Yu, Kuan, Ko and analogous wares.

Letters to the Editor

Indonesian Language

"Dear Sir,—In the article by A. Brotherton on "The Development of the Indonesian Language," published in your June issue, the author states that "the striking similarity of certain Indonesian and Japanese words is also yet to be explained."

The explanation in my opinion is simple. It is now generally accepted by most students of ethnology that the Japanese people are a mixed race of Korean, Chinese, Manchu, Malay, and even Polynesian origin.

The Malay element is stronger in the southern half of Japan where Malay pirates landed in the early years of the Christian era. Many similarities can be pointed out between the Japanese and the Malay races, e.g., the old form of Shinto shrine as preserved in the Shrine of Ise which is sacred to the Japanese sun-goddess, is the same as the Malay water house, having the house ladder and built on piles. Again, the old Japanese fishermen still wear grass skirts like the Polynesian.

And so it is not surprising to find similar words in the Malay-Indonesian language and the Japanese language. There is one point of grammar which is common to Malay, Indonesian, Japanese and Polynesian languages and that is the reduplicating of nouns to get indefinite plurals and varieties.

Yours, etc.,

ABDUL RAHMAN BIN ALI

Liverpool, 11.

Afghan Politics

SIR,—I hope you will allow me to comment on "Sarhaddi's" article "The Afghans and International Politics" which appeared in the May issue of EASTERN WORLD.

From my knowledge of your highly esteemed journal I am sure that you will give your readers the opportunity of learning some facts which have been ignored by "Sarhaddi," and which are of great importance to those who are interested in the Pakhtun, or the so-called "Pathan," question and in the present relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The dispute is not "five years or so old" as "Sarhaddi" incorrectly states, but dates back to the time when these "provinces of the Afghan Kingdom" were severed from Afghanistan by military force and the so-called Durand Line was imposed upon Afghanistan under duress. The dispute did not arise with the division of India between Muslim and Hindu, as the Pakhtuns (Pathans, according to the Indian pronunciation of the word) were continuously struggling for their independence before the Indians, Hindus or Muslims ever thought of the independence of India, either as a whole or in the form of the Muslim State of Pakistan and the Hindu State of India.

The movement was not "set on foot in Kabul" but existed from the beginning in Pakhtunistan. The attitude of Kabul has been dictated by the natural desire to support the cause of freedom in close and complete harmony with the desire and intention of the Pakhtuns either to rejoin their fatherland or to form an independent state of their own.

The Khan brothers, who are at present in a Pakistan goal, had made it clear that they wanted neither to join India nor Pakistan, but wanted an independent Pakhtunistan for the non-Indian Muslim community of Pakhtuns, since independence was granted to the Indian-Muslim and the Indian-Hindu communities of India in any case.

The Pakhtuns had also made it clear by continuous fighting

against the British that whether India did or did not struggle for her independence, they would in the name of their own community defend their freedom.

"Sarhaddi" refers to the plebiscite of the settled districts of the frontier, in which the issue was whether to join India or Pakistan: the third issue which would have given the Pakhtuns the chance to vote for an independent Pakhtun state was ignored. As a result of this policy over 50 per cent of the Pakhtuns in the settled districts did not take part in the voting and their leaders made it clear that the Pakhtuns wanted an independent Pakhtunistan. These are historical facts and cannot be refuted.

The Pakhtuns between the so-called administrative border and the Durand Line were not supposed to vote as to their status. In the eyes of the British Government it was a British Protectorate but was in fact an independent area which was never annexed and never ruled by them. Further, the Pakhtuns never pledged allegiance to Pakistan, but on the contrary, the late Mr. Jinnah recognised their independence, and, to sustain belief in a promise which was never fulfilled, troops stationed in some parts of their land were withdrawn.

The writer accuses Kabul of having abused and libelled the Pakistan Government, but he does not mention the Pakistan press and radio policy, which initiated this abuse and pursued it on a much larger scale than Afghanistan possibly could. He also accuses the Afghan Embassy in London of having used this country as a "base for political warfare." This can, I think, be left to the judgment of the readers of the British Press.

"Sarhaddi's" criticisms of the freedom of the press in India and his condemnation of the Indian authorities for not "officially" criticising and holding up the Indian newspapers, redound to the credit of the Indian authorities and Press, in so far as their claim to have established true freedom of the press is concerned.

To lend colour to his article "Sarhaddi" refers to the invasion of Nadir Shah as an Afghan invasion of India. Nadir Shah was, of course, a Persian conqueror and not Afghan. He instances this invasion as an historical warning of the possibility of the repetition of the past religious wars, but Nadir Shah was a conqueror of his own times, and he invaded the Muslim State of Afghanistan, just as he invaded India.

It would seem ridiculous to blame Kabul University for establishing a Chair of Sanskrit, since this crime, if crime it is, has been committed by most of the universities of the world! Referring to the great Afghan Emperor Mahmud of Ghazni, "Sarhaddi" speaks of the temple portals carried off by the Afghans, but Afghanistan can never offer to "restore" the portals, which have never been taken to Afghanistan. That this story has no basis in historical fact is well known to students of history.

So far as the solution of the Pakhtun problem is concerned, the Pakhtuns are doubtless fully aware of their own best interests; they will never want to die from thirst through being deprived of drinking from the Indus, nor do they want to be drowned by being pushed into the Oxus.

Afghanistan has no special enemies, but whoever, under whatever pretext, attempted to threaten the economic and political independence of the country, would naturally be considered her enemy.

The people of Pakhtunistan want their freedom and they wish to attain it by peaceful methods. They want a plebiscite, as has been suggested by Pakistan for Kashmir, and they do not see why either the western or the eastern world should recognise Pakistan's contradictory policy of, on the one hand, denying this right to the Pakhtuns, and, on the other hand, claiming it for herself in Kashmir.

Yours, etc.,

RAHMAN PAZHAWAK
Press Attache

Royal Afghan Embassy,
London, S.W.7.

School of Oriental and African Studies

By Neville Whyman

THE School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, has had a restless, chequered history.

It has none the less survived to become the outstanding centre of Eastern and African studies in Great Britain.

Incorporated by Royal Charter in 1916, the School first occupied premises in Finsbury Circus in the City of London. In those days the title of the school was School of Oriental Studies, London Institution (changed in October 1938 to School of Oriental and African Studies). The building, not too ill-adapted to the needs of the School, did not allow of much expansion, such as was envisaged as the years went by. The teaching staff in those early days was a small easily manageable group, friendly and intimate enough to make staff meetings a tea-party rather than a formal occasion. The syllabus was naturally much less comprehensive than it appears to-day.

The first Director of the School was Sir E. Denison Ross, noted for his work in India and the Near East and his devotion to Persian studies. Ross had many of the qualities of a Barnum or a Cochran; for him the School was a show-place and he never wearied in extolling its achievements and those of its staff. He was personally interested in each lecturer and tutor; one never knew when the door would open softly in the course of a lecture or study class and the Director slip in to take his place at the back.

Ross kept his finger on all aspects of School work and we all knew it. On one point he was very firm. Each member of the faculty was expected to engage regularly in independent research and to produce (annually if possible) some original work. This might, if short enough, be published in the *Bulletin* of the School, which Ross was determined should rival all the other learned journals devoted to Oriental studies.

The School followed steadily the principle of dual instruction, teaching by native speakers of the language concerned alternating with lectures by British or other teachers who had achieved proficiency by various means. Thus the direct method of language instruction was given full trial; results of examinations held annually show how successful the instructional methods were. In addition to the standard instruction for University qualification in a language, the School arranged many other activities, including special classes at unscheduled hours for the benefit of special students unable to attend normal classes. We remember one class arranged for a Foreign Office official who attended three days a week on his way to

Whitehall; another arranged for 7 p.m. to study marks on Chinese porcelain and Chinese legend and mythology for one who later made his name as the outstanding authority on Chinese glazes.

But institutions of learning never stop growing; the libraries which form part of them tend to burst all bonds. For many years the School struggled on but, at Easter 1936, it moved to more commodious premises (Vandon House, Westminster). In common with many other activities the School moved out of London on the outbreak of the second world war; it went to Christ's College, Cambridge. In June 1940 the School was back again in London—at Broadway Court, Westminster; in 1941 it was transferred to its present site among the London University buildings in Malet Street, Holborn. Amid all these changes the vigour and enthusiasm which have been from the beginning such a feature of the School and its staff persisted.

After both world wars (and during part of the second world war) service personnel formed a large part of the student body. This makes any close statistical account of the number of students misleading unless accompanied by long explanations. But the increase in teaching staff and students since the early days has been phenomenal. Apart from Readers and Lecturers, Chinese now has two Professors; languages so remote from everyday life as to be unknown even by name to the majority of people are now regularly taught at the School and little-known tongues and dialects can be taught by special arrangement. Over one hundred languages of Asia and Africa are within the scope of the School's teaching; in 1945-46 a grand total of 1,028 students received instruction. The totals for the five succeeding years down to 1950-51 are respectively 938, 834, 777, 723, and 656.

Through the years the School has been increasingly used as a centre for post-graduate study. There is, and always has been, an air about the School which stimulates interest beyond one's personal area of activity. Members of the faculty have produced works which have become standard text-books, not only in London University but in colleges and universities over the world. Recalling our surprise on hearing the first Director (whose interests were very wide) declare that nothing would persuade him to learn an African language, we wonder what would be his comment to-day on seeing the expansion of teaching of those tongues since 1916! The present Director is Professor Sir Ralph Turner, M.C., M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A.

THE CODE OF THE SAMURAI

By David Parry

BUSHIDO, the code of honour of the Japanese knight, must have evolved slowly and gradually over hundreds of years, an unwritten code finding concrete expression only in the occasional writings—directives and regulations, for the most part—of feudal chiefs. Such works, which governed the behaviour of a particular clan, invariably stressed the importance of unquestioning obedience to every command, often, too, laying down strict rules on the subject of dress, training, or the sports and pastimes in which it was permissible to take part. As money was despised as something to be handled by merchants and tradesmen, income was calculated in terms of bushels of rice, all ranks practising the utmost frugality both in peace and war. Anyone found lacking in the necessary qualities was dismissed forthwith, a sentence perhaps even more harsh than the death penalty, involving ostracism and complete loss of face.

In reality, of course, the training of a samurai began before he reached manhood, the fact that the profession was an hereditary one making it possible for him to be tutored from infancy in such virtues as courage and self-control. All manner of tasks and hardships, progressively more difficult and unpleasant, prepared the child for the day when he would be privileged to carry arms in his master's cause, the aim being to enable him to endure pain, hunger and exposure without complaint. Characteristically, his most cherished plaything was his toy sword, while at a private ceremony a real weapon would be worn for the first time at the tender age of five. From about ten onwards such a treasured possession was always close at hand, even when he retired to rest, since the sword was constantly referred to in his presence as "the soul of the samurai," an object to be treated with infinite care.

Early Japanese soldiers were equipped with a straight,



A typical Samurai

double-edged, two-handed sword, but from medieval times this design gave way to the much better known *katana*, a single-edged weapon, gracefully curved. The overall length varied from three feet, the normal size in general use both in the Middle Ages and in the modern Japanese Army, to five or even seven, though, as military etiquette still demanded that they be thrust into the girdle and tied in place with silken cords, the unsheathing of such swords must have been difficult. Against this, there is no denying that for this class of work the smiths of Japan have hardly been rivalled anywhere in the world, a finished blade cutting through piles of copper coins and passing other searching tests. Over and above their purely functional qualities, moreover, their amazing strength and keenness, the finest products of the craftsmen were also a joy to the eye certain experts specialising in the making of tastefully lacquered scabbards, for instance, or in the fashioning or decoration of guard or hilt.

Besides swordsmanship and a knowledge of the principles of *ju-jitsu*, the samurai was required to develop his skill as a rider, though it is only fair to observe that the horses themselves—hardy enough, but small in stature—seldom compared favourably with European chargers. Archery, too, was not forgotten, for it was widely accepted

that the bow, if ranking beneath *katana* as the badge of the professional soldier and a mark of social superiority, often decided the fortunes of the day. Of rather less practical importance was *wakizashi*, the dirk intended, not for actual combat, but for such bloody business as the decapitation of a defeated opponent, the custom being for all enemy heads to be brought before the commander as circumstances allowed. In the field, the whereabouts of this officer would be signified by a standard, or by an enclosure of sorts—a very necessary arrangement when a unit was arrayed to a man in heavy armour of a type in which it must have needed an effort to move, let alone fight. On other occasions, in contrast, the various ranks could be recognised quite easily by differences in head-dress, tunic, and so on, notwithstanding the value attached to severe uniformity in many respects.

To advertise the presence of one's headquarters may nowadays seem absurd, but in the Japan of the 13th and 14th centuries at any rate, there was practically no resort to clever turning movements or surprise attacks—indeed, tactics did not really exist in the true sense. If victory could be gained only by taking advantage of an unsuspecting foe, then, argued the chivalrous *bushi*, it was infinitely better to lose, actions between rival armies thus following a set pattern in which individual prowess counted for a great deal. Two contestants, having come to grips as the result of a formal challenge issued by one or the other, would concentrate solely on their own desperate encounter, paying not the slightest heed to what was happening elsewhere. Probably there is no more significant illustration of the manner in which extraordinary heroism can hinder the development of generalship among a warlike race.

Dauntless courage, allied to complete mastery of the various weapons acquired during long hours of practice, nevertheless made the samurai a wonderful instrument even in the hands of inferior tacticians—so much so that the influence of Bushido in other directions is sometimes overlooked. Without the inculcation of a deep sense of what was right and proper, on the contrary, the knights of old Japan, several millions strong, must have become a menace rather than an inspiration to ordinary folk. The *bushi*, it is true, was adjured never to betray his feelings, whether in anger or in joy, but this does not mean that he was expected to remain indifferent to the sufferings and troubles of those less fortunate than himself. There has been misunderstanding, too, on the subject of *suppuku*, or *hara-kiri*, though it was perfectly clear to the soldier that his first duty was to serve his lord as effectively as he could. Thus, in the field, suicide in time of defeat was only to be contemplated to avoid the disgrace of capture, not as a means of relief from suffering or toil.

Away from the battlefield, *suppuku* was often committed by a samurai by way of protest against the his good name, while all warriors invariably claimed the privilege of serving as their own executioner if sentenced to death because of some crime. In this event there would be a solemn ceremony attended by officials to witness the act, a friend of the condemned man waiting ready to despatch him should the pain prove too great. As far as mass suicide is concerned, the most celebrated example is, of course, that of the Forty-seven Ronin, who steadfastly pursued the path of vengeance against the rascally *kuge*, or civil noble, responsible for the downfall of their daimio, Asano, even though well aware that to achieve success was to seal their doom.

Retribution, though approved alike by *bushi* and common citizen, was not sanctioned by law, so that there was no hope of escape for Yuranosuke and his forty-six knights when, after many adventures and much tedious waiting, they finally stormed the castle of their enemy, Kira, whose insults, leading to an undignified scene in the grounds of the Imperial Palace, had been the direct cause of Asano's *suppuku* and the confiscation of his lands. Perhaps the most compelling feature of the assault itself is the difference with which the Ronin treat the terror-stricken villain when they discover his hiding place, these leaderless samurai observing all the niceties of speech and manner due to one of noble birth. As it happens, however, Kira is too cowardly to take advantage of the polite request to end his life in the traditional way. Instead he is decapitated, the head eventually being laid on Asano's grave.

Although they did not follow the terrible method of the men, Japanese women of the samurai class also resorted to suicide if the path of honour demanded such a course, regular exercise in swordplay further preparing them for the task of defending themselves and their families when husband or father was absent from home. Besides, how should a mother instruct her small son in the use of *katana* if she herself did not know the most elementary rules? At intervals during such lessons a lady might recite the deathless tale of some hero of the past, his deeds perhaps still perpetuated by actor or story-teller in the remotest corner of the land. In the *shibai*, at least, and also in the hearts of many of the people, are preserved the ideas and precepts of knighthood, even though the thousands of retainers no longer throng the vanished *nagaya*, those gloomy barracks with heavily barred windows and iron-studded gates.

ECONOMIC SECTION

Indonesia's Agricultural Problems

By V. Wolpert

INDONESIA'S Minister of Agriculture, Mohamed Sardjan, recently emphasised in a broadcast that the success of the Government's programme for increasing food production depended on the cooperation of the entire nation. While the present rice production has now reached the pre-war level, the steady rise in population at the rate of about 1 million annually, and the drift from the countryside to the towns, has intensified the demand for rice and other agricultural products. These additional food requirements could only be met by increasing the area under cultivation, and the yield per acre. The Minister also described a number of land reclamation projects, such as the important one in Kalimantan (Borneo), which the Government had inaugurated, and announced that an experimental project in mechanised agriculture in an area of 5,000 hectares south of the Asahan river in North Sumatra would be completed by the end of this year.

The attention paid by the Indonesian Government to increased rice production was reflected in the Special Prosperity Plan for Agriculture and Fisheries (1949), which emphasised the importance of seed improvement. The Plan provided for the establishment of regional seed-selection stations and a large number of seed farms, and aimed at the supply of seed from selection stations to the entire 2 million hectares of irrigated rice fields, giving an additional 600,000 tons of cleaned rice by 1960. In addition the Government announced its decision to import phosphatic fertilisers for use on certain areas of irrigated rice.

In this connection it is worth noting that while in 1938 the imports of fertilisers amounted (in metric tons) to 122,400, only 11,700 were imported in 1947, 33,900 in 1948, 59,400 in 1949, 71,976 in 1950 and 58,539 in 1951. mechanisation of the country's agriculture is self-evident.

The possibility of increased crops by using better tools and manuring in addition to cultivation of new areas was stressed in Dr. Schacht's recommendations to the Indonesian Government in October, 1951. Dr. Schacht urged that the Government's efforts to promote the cooperative system should be continued and intensified. The share which farming cooperatives may play in the mechanisation of the country's agriculture is self-evident. While the financing of purchases of agricultural machinery,

including tractors, is often beyond the means of small and medium cultivators, the cooperatives can be the proper organisations to introduce machinery for group farming. In addition, farming cooperatives are usually in a better position than individual cultivators to negotiate with Mortgage Banks and regional agricultural authorities to secure the purchase and the import of machinery. According to recent reports, orders for tractors have been placed lately by farming cooperatives and their associations through the Provincial Agricultural Service Offices. The necessity of importing agricultural implements was also stressed by the 1947 ECAFE Report, which recommended imports of such implements to the value of U.S. \$5 millions, in addition to tapping and collecting equipment to the value of U.S. \$7 millions for reconstruction purposes. Indonesia's imports of these goods were as follows: 1947—54,000 Rs., 1948—281,000 Rs., 1949—554,000 Rs., 1950—555,000 Rs., and 1951—1,335,000 Rs.

The situation in Indonesia was summarised by Prof. Shannon McCune, who was recently acting chief of ECA's special technical and economic mission to Indonesia, by the following sentence: "The Indonesian people are poor in a land of plenty." Again quoting the 1947 ECAFE Report, the estimated calorie intake per capita in Java and Madura declined from 2,000 calories during the pre-war period to 1,400 calories by the beginning of 1947. G. Mulgrue of the FAO wrote in the April issue of EASTERN WORLD, that "Owing to the low production of foodstuffs

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in Indonesia, nutrition oedema and vitamin A deficiencies, which were seen among large sections of the population even before the war, have become more prevalent."

Dr. A. A. Maramis, an Indonesian delegate to the General Assembly of the UN in Paris, November 1951, stressed the fact that whereas agriculture productivity per unit of land was not, in the under-developed countries, far below the world average, productivity per person was much lower than average. This, he said, meant disguised unemployment and low national income. He pointed out that Indonesia had first to face the task of rehabilitation and thereafter the task of stepping up production to meet the requirements of a rapidly growing population. Speaking on the agricultural problems of his country, Dr. Maramis recalled the fact that Indonesia had already carried out land reform, and that therefore the question of redistribution of land was of less interest to his country than the question of land reclamation, and he also

emphasised the importance of the task to improve the existing methods of farming.

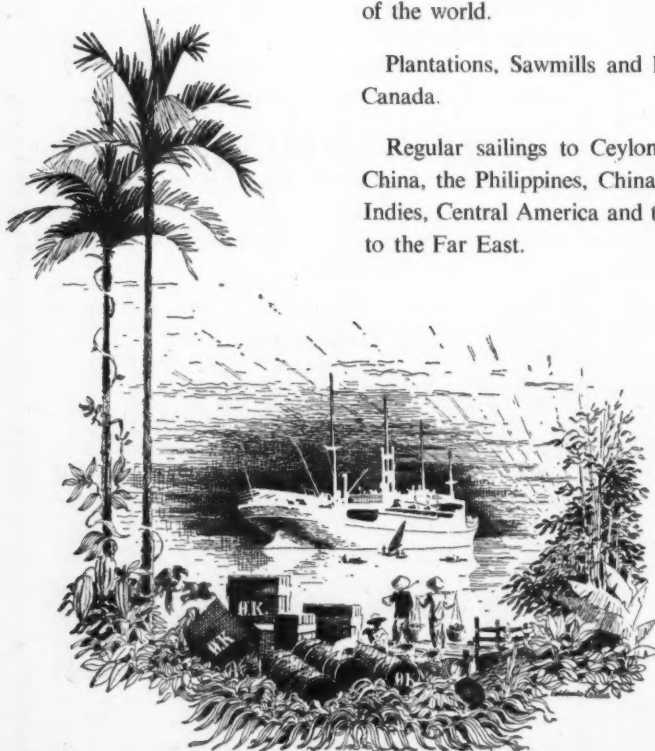
While in 1948 and 1949 Indonesia had a small deficit in her foreign trade, 1950 and 1951 witnessed a large expansion of trade which resulted in a total favourable trade balance of nearly 3,000 million Rupiahs. The value of 1950 exports was nearly 100 per cent higher, and that of 1951 about 200 per cent higher than the value of the 1949 exports, and reached the value of Rs. 4,664 million, while the value of imports in 1950 was practically unchanged as against 1949, but rose by about 100 per cent in 1951, reaching the value of Rs. 3,064 millions. Even if the expansion of exports may be regarded as temporary, as it was due to the unusually heavy demand and rising prices of the main export commodities of Indonesia, it is imperative that the earned additional foreign exchange should be utilised for the development of the country's economy. The diversification of economy

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Cables: ORIENT

and the application of modern scientific technique in farming in addition to reclamation of new land should be foremost among the Government's schemes to raise the standard of living.

It has been announced that the Government is planning to import agricultural machinery, primarily for use in Sumatra and South Kalimantan, and it is to be hoped that this plan will be carried out shortly and that additional facilities for training in the proper use and upkeep of this machinery will be available. Those manufacturers who will deliver these machines should be called upon to assist in teaching the maintenance of their products and to keep stocks of spare parts in the country of destination.

The need for a bold development programme in Indonesia and its swift execution is urgent. It should not be postponed because of internal disturbances, but rather should be considered as an effective way of fighting them. United Nations Special Agencies have showed their willingness to assist Indonesia in economic development, while the countries which produce capital goods should give priority to deliveries to underdeveloped areas. Professor Shannon McCune has described the situation in Indonesia as one of "... basic economic strength and notable economic potential ..." and he added the criticism that "The inadequacies of an American programme of mutual security solely devoted to military aid are shown most eloquently in Indonesia."

THE ORION INSURANCE COMPANY

The 22nd annual general meeting of The Orion Insurance Company Limited will be held on July 17, at 70/72, King William Street, London, E.C.

The following is the statement by the Chairman, Sir Strati Ralli, Bart., M.C., which has been circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1951:

There are no major changes to report this year in the general organisation of the Company's business, the year under review having been largely devoted to consolidation of our interests both at home and overseas.

MARINE DEPARTMENT

In the Marine Department the Net Premium Income for 1951 amounted to £1,215,517 compared with £968,856 for 1950. This increase in Premium Income reflected not only the substantial rise which took place in Shipping values and in the prices of commodities generally in 1951, but also the growing volume of business we received during the year from recently established and developing Agencies overseas.

Total Claims Paid amounted to 84 per cent of Premiums compared with 83 per cent for 1950, and Expenses of Management to 5.8 per cent compared with 6.6 per cent last year.

The sum of £90,000 has been transferred to Profit and Loss Account out of the 1949 Closed Underwriting Account.

The Marine Fund now stands at £1,220,866 (100.4 per cent) and, having regard to the fact that no provision is required in respect of the Outstanding Liability on our 1940/45 Underwriting Accounts, which are fully reinsured, the Fund is regarded as satisfactory.

The 1950 Underwriting Account is developing satisfactorily, but, as I intimated in my Statement last year, the background for both Hull and Cargo underwriting has undoubtedly deteriorated and the First-year Settlements on the 1951 Underwriting Account are higher than we have experienced for several years. It is extremely difficult to forecast the ultimate outcome of these two Accounts although it is quite obvious that under present conditions we cannot expect a continuance of the very favourable results we have experienced in the Marine Department over the past few years.

FIRE, ACCIDENT AND MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENT

The Premium Income of this Account for 1951 amounted to £827,080 compared with £704,449 for 1950. This increase was due largely to the new Direct Fire and Accident business written by the Company in the London Market and to the continued growth of our overseas Agency business.

Claims Incurred worked out at 85 per cent on Earned Premiums compared with 92 per cent for 1950. Commission and Expenses absorbed 15.3 per cent as compared with 14.7 per cent. The maintenance of the Unexpired Risks Reserve on the usual conservative basis of 50 per cent has involved a financing charge of £61,315, and this, in conjunction with the unfavourable outcome of Liability business written in previous years, has necessitated the transfer into this Account of a sum of £2,535 from Profit and Loss Account.

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

After bringing in Gross Interest and Dividends of £109,377 (£84,308) and the Net Transfer from Revenue Accounts of £87,465 (£41,243) and after deducting Directors' Fees £2,000 (same), Other Expenses and Audit Fee £27,671 (£9,381),

Overseas Taxation £2,590 (£1,746) and providing the sum of £145,000 (£91,000) for United Kingdom Taxation, the Net Balance for the year amounts to £19,581 (£21,424). To this has to be added the sum of £91,110 brought forward from 1950, making a balance of £110,691 available for distribution.

Your Directors recommend the payment of a Dividend of 10 per cent, less Income Tax, for the Year 1951 (same) which requires a net sum of £21,000, and, after transferring £2,000 to Staff Contingency Reserve, there remains a balance of £87,691 to be carried forward.

BALANCE SHEET

The total of Investments shown in the Balance Sheet is £2,491,269, of which a large proportion is held in short-dated British, United States and Commonwealth Government Securities.

Despite the severe fall in Security prices in 1951 the Market Value or, where there is no quotation, the estimated value of the Investments at 31st December, 1951, was in excess of their Book Value.

The total Assets of the Company now stand at £4,342,722 compared with £3,861,023.

GENERAL REMARKS

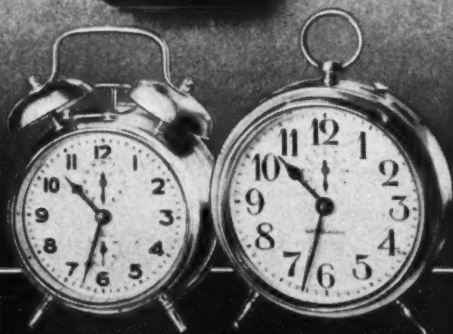
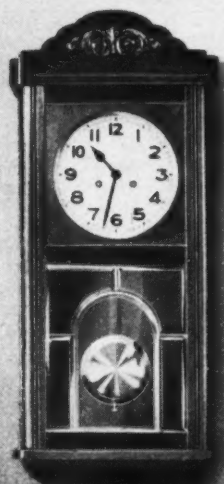
In closing, I know you will wish me to place on record our appreciation of the very good services rendered to the Company throughout the past year by the Management, Senior Officials and all Members of our Staff.

To all our friends, both at home and overseas, many of whom we have had the pleasure of seeing in London, or of visiting in their own countries, during the past year, we also tender our thanks for the valued support they have given us and for their unremitting efforts on behalf of the Company throughout the past year.

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*A fish farm in Java
Fish breeding occupies 200,000 Javanese,
and fish and rice form the staple diet of
Indonesia*

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INFLATION IN INDIA (II) and its effects on the Food Situation

By *L. Delgado*

THE currency dispute with Pakistan was not the cause of inflation in India, although it certainly was an aggravating feature. By the end of 1948 most of the countries of Asia had felt the effects of the gradual revival of production and trade, due to the creation of the paradise of the sellers' market resulting from the pent-up demand of the war years. Controls had been reimposed during the second half of 1948, and by the end of the year a comprehensive scheme was adopted for checking the inflation. Price controls were imposed on all essential commodities, such as foodstuffs, cotton and woollen textiles, iron and steel, petroleum, and mica. A ceiling on personal incomes was established and a dividend limitation policy was adopted. The aim of the fiscal programme was four-fold: to provide incentives for increased production, to reduce spending power, to restrict the imports of non-essential goods, and to encourage the import of necessities. Customs duties on liquor, tobacco, motor-cars, silk and rayon were increased, and an excise imposed on super-fine cotton cloth. Imports of machinery and certain industrial raw materials, including raw cotton, were freed from duty. Import licences in respect of some other necessary goods were eased. These measures were accompanied by an order making it compulsory to pay income tax on anticipated current receipts instead of on profits earned in the previous year. The refund of post-war credits to businesses in respect of excess profits tax was postponed for three years. As a stimulus to production, there was a considerable decrease of the corporate income taxes and other direct taxes on business. It was difficult, however, to increase the supply of goods fast enough to cause a fall in prices.

Food controls and rationing were extended during 1949. The Government compulsorily purchased all local and imported supplies of food and raw materials (though there is evidence that considerable quantities went into the black market). These measures resulted in a reduction of food prices, and benefited the urban population. The peasants, however, were unable to reap the advantages they would otherwise have had. For example, the 10 per cent reduction in the retail prices of food grains imposed under the government eight-point programme was made possible by a parallel cut in the prices at which the government bought from the cultivator. The gap between controlled and free prices continued to be wide and free prices themselves varied widely in range over different parts of the country. Most of the larger cities of India suffered from severe shortages of sugar

as a consequence of the efforts of the government to curb profiteering in this commodity. The freezing of mill stocks was ordered early in September 1949, but parallel measures were taken to freeze trade stocks, and most of the latter disappeared into the black market. Sugar, except at black market prices, virtually disappeared in a number of cities in the last quarter of the year. However, it is true to say that, on the whole, Indian prices were to a great extent stabilised during 1949, and this is undoubtedly due to the anti-inflationary measures we have discussed, both those taken to attack inflation as such and those taken to combat the evils arising out of devaluation.

THE PRICE LEVEL

These efforts, taken in conjunction with the general fall in world prices, had the effect of greatly reducing the inflationary pressure, at least for a time. The wholesale price index had taken a downward course in August 1948, and this continued until the first quarter of 1949. Prices then began to rise again. In August 1949 there was a further rise. This tendency was expected to continue as a result of the devaluation, but by the end of 1949 no marked increases had made itself felt—on the contrary, so far as the cost of living index was concerned, prices were slightly lower in December 1949 than in December 1948.

The interpretation of statistics, however correct the figures in themselves are, is an exercise that calls for special skill. This is specially so when dealing with statistics of the East, not because the figures are suspect, but because special considerations apply, particularly when considering the relationship between food prices, the cost of living, and wages. *Per capita* incomes are low, so that the cost of food accounts for a very large proportion of the family expenditure. Food prices and the cost of living therefore tend to move in the same direction to a much greater extent than in the West. Changes in the cost of living can be compared to those in wage rates to discover changes in real wages. The estimation of real wages, however, is subject in India to the limitation that statistics of wages refer only to a minority made up only of the organised workers, of major industries. The vast majority of workers, including tillers of the soil, are not organised and statistics are not available in their case. Increases in average rates also do not necessarily mean a larger income for the working class as a whole: they may be apparent, not real, when there is unemployment, which affects more seriously the lower-paid unskilled workers.

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Food and raw materials are the chief products of India and changes in their prices may indicate the relative changes affecting the price structure of primary industries, particularly agriculture which gives employment to the overwhelming mass of the population. Comparison of changes in the price of food and raw materials indicate the trend of the relative returns from food and cash crops. As the price of food generally affects the cost of living, and hence wage-rates, changes in the prices of food and materials indicate changes in the structure of costs of production, which may be compared with changes in the prices of manufactured goods. In India during 1949 the prices of raw materials showed a small rise while food prices fell: the prices of manufactured goods remained steady.

The year 1950 was one of continuing stress in India as, indeed, everywhere else. The war in Korea intensified the rearmament of the United States and of the Western democracies. This resulted in the stockpiling of strategic commodities, an action which reinforced the scarcities that arose from the armaments drive. During the year the general price index in India rose nearly 31 points from an average of 381.3 in December 1949 to 412.6 in December 1950. The peak was reached in April 1951, when the figure was 457.5. After this date there was a steady fall, the average for November being 435.6.

In an effort to hold down prices and as a continuation of its fight against inflation, the Government budgeted for, and obtained, a substantial surplus in its revenue. Ostensibly this surplus was to meet essential capital expenditure but its real function was to absorb purchasing power. Another measure with the same object in view was that of raising the Bank rate. This method of tightening credit is much more effective in India than in the United Kingdom, where often the raising of the Bank rate is not sufficient and open market operations by the Bank of England are resorted to. In India a change in Bank rate produces a very real (as well as a psychological) influence on the money market.

THE FOOD SITUATION

The mass of the Indian population receives the full impact of inflation on its stomach. Except for a very small number, there is no cushion of luxury goods that the individual can cut when prices rise: he spends nearly all his income on food. Inflation therefore is of much more than academic importance to the inhabitants: it is literally vital.

From time immemorial India has been decimated by famines when food crops failed. This disaster occurred every time the rivers overflowed or when the monsoon failed. Modern irrigation works have greatly mitigated the former evil and attenuated the gravity of the latter. Nevertheless the large growth of population has created a call for yet more food, so that a poor yield of any of the basic food grains creates a serious situation. If famine is to be avoided, food must be imported from abroad. In recent years efforts have been made to increase the amount of food produced at home, but yields are pitifully low, due largely to lack of fertilizers. Moreover, both in 1950 and in 1951 a series of natural calamities befell the country. Floods in some parts and the failure of the monsoon in others aggravated the problem, and made necessary added food imports. It is estimated that for the two years the loss on crops due to these causes was nine million tons. The increases in imports that became necessary was costly to the Government, not only because of the loss of foreign exchange that was involved but also because of the substantial subsidy that had to be paid in order to keep food prices down. These subsidies, of course, aggravated inflation because they represent an addition to purchasing power without increased production.

A further evil is that in such circumstances, peasants hide the grain from the Government, to whom it has to be sold, and dispose of it on the black market. In order to avoid this, the Government increased, in some States, the price at which it bought local produce. It is true that this policy increased the

inflationary potential, but the evil it cured was much greater. In any case, even the increased price for home-produced grains was much lower than that of imported food-grains.

Because of the gravity of the food situation, the Government's Five Year Plan gave high priority to the development of agriculture and irrigation. The increase in food production is of the greatest urgency. In addition to drought and flood in 1950 there was a serious earthquake in Assam. In that year therefore the Government was able to purchase from the peasants only 4.63 million tons of foodgrains instead of 5.16 tons, which had been the target fixed, and stocks came down from 1.58 million tons at the beginning of the year to a little under three-quarters of a million tons at the end of it. The cereal ration was accordingly reduced from 12 ozs. to 9 ozs. in January 1951, though the basic ration of 12 ozs. for heavy workers was restored a month later. The outlook for 1951 was of the gloomiest, and it was only when, in June 1951, the U.S.A. passed the India Emergency Food Aid Act granting India a long-term loan of \$190 million for the purpose of acquiring two million tons of foodgrains in the U.S.A., that the ration was restored in a number of States. It was hoped to acquire some 3½ million tons from Australia, Canada, China, Burma, and Russia. But in Assam and Travancore-Cochin the food situation remained under considerable strain, while the rice position in Madras and Hyderabad caused concern.

In its campaign to peg the cost of living, the Government opened a number of ration and fair-price shops throughout the Union. In Bihar, there were over 11,000 by the end of 1951, serving a population of some 22½ million, while in Madras

nearly 7,000 fair-price shops had been opened in the derationed areas of the State. In West Bengal the ration cut, which had been in force since January, was restored in September.

It has been suggested in some quarters in India that areas devoted to non-food crops, such as cotton and jute, should be diverted to the cultivation of foodstuffs. It must be remembered that even if such a diversion made an appreciable difference to the food supply—which it would not—the lack of dollar earnings from jute would be a worse evil, for with these dollars India purchases much more food than she could grow in the areas diverted. It is true, of course, that the financial burden of imports is great: not only has the grain from overseas to be paid for but the subsidy—amounting now to some Rs.50 crores annually—has to be continued, and the more the cost of food rises abroad the higher has the subsidy to be if the cost of living is not to rise. There is one remedy which the Government has so far refused to consider—the revaluation of the rupee.

THE FUTURE

It will be seen that the situation in India though serious is not catastrophic. The greatest evil is that of low productivity both in industry and in agriculture, which will take many years, perhaps generations, to correct. Until this has been done the Indian standard of life will suffer. The Chairman of the Tata Iron and Steel Company said recently that Indian labour works below its capacity. This has been denied by the Indian workers' representative on I.L.O., who explains low productivity as arising from the defects of machinery that was used to capacity during the war and now worn out. He added that Indian management was less efficient than management in the West, partly through lack of experience. Whatever the truth may be, it is certainly a fact that productivity in India is low. But the Government is alive to the difficulties, and by the measures taken has shown the world that it can govern well and that it has mastered basic economic principles, which is more than can be said of some Western countries. The U.S.A. has not liked the socialist tendencies of India, but it has admired the courage of the Government in dealing with the problems of the country. In January this year the two Governments set up an Indo-American Technical Cooperation Fund to speed up approved projects and to initiate new ones for the economic development of India. To this fund the U.S.A. is to contribute \$50 million (to be allocated by June 30, 1952) out of money already made available for technical cooperation in Asia under the Mutual Security Agency, and the Government of India agrees to contribute rupees from its Special Development Fund so that the total amount available for the programme will be more than \$100 million, i.e., about Rs.50 crores. In essence, the programme aims at raising the efficiency of Indian agriculture and increasing food production in order to reduce India's present dependence on imported food, averaging in recent years some five million tons and costing the country about Rs.250 crores a year in foreign exchange. It is proposed to set up 50 rural-urban development areas, each to consist of about 200,000 people in about 300 villages and each to act as a "pilot project" for the surrounding countryside. How much can be done by such schemes can be seen in places like Etawah in Uttar Pradesh where food production over the past three years has been more than doubled by intensive cultivation under the guidance of Mr. Horace Holmes, an American agriculturalist. There is no reason why the new agreement should not be integrated with the Commonwealth Colombo Plan for technical assistance and with the Indian Government's Five Year Plan now taking final shape.

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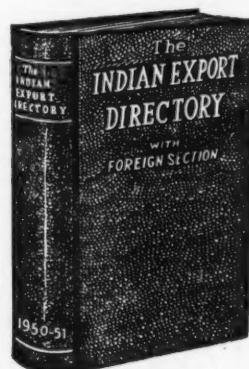
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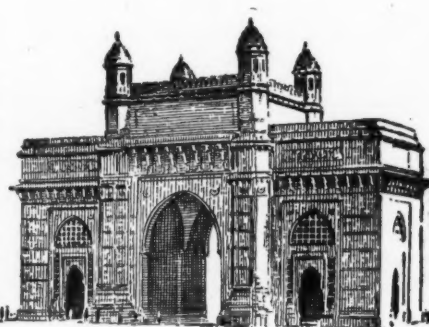
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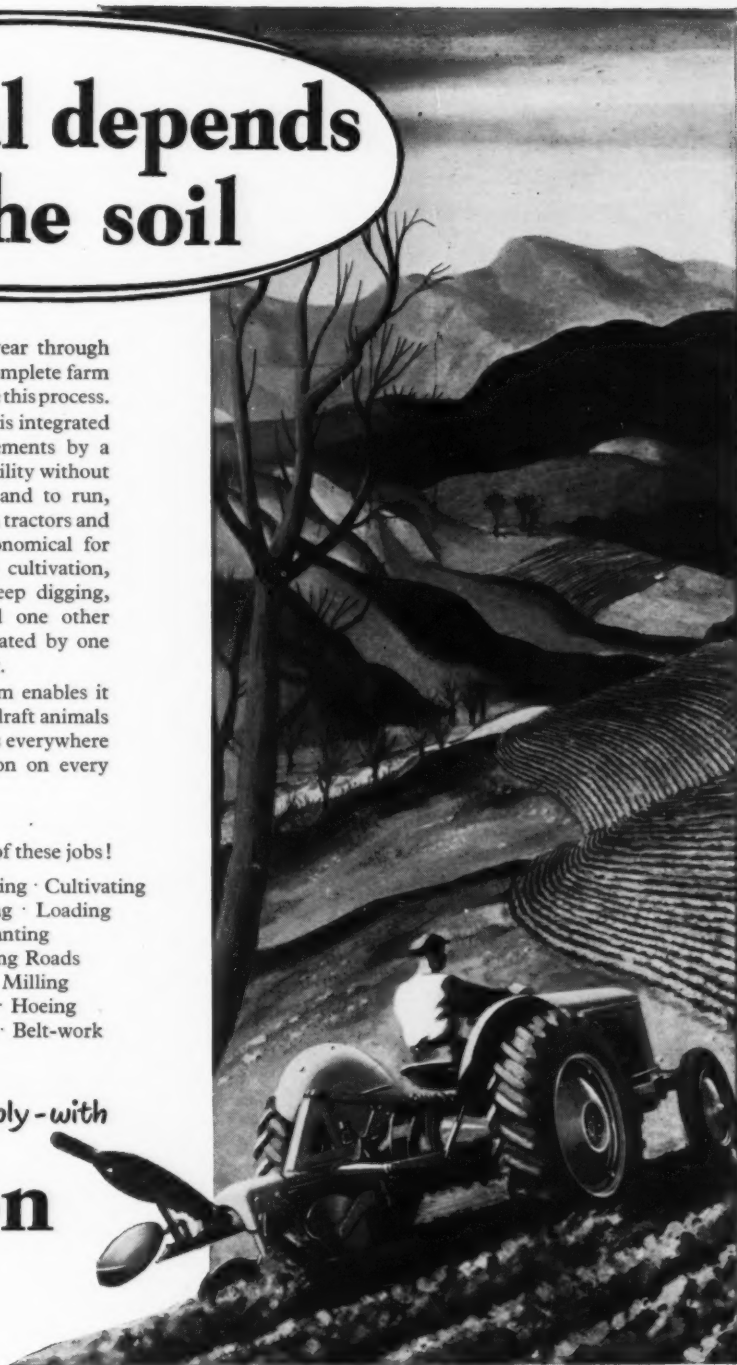
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